محمد يوسف المقريف

WORLD CENTER FOR RESEARCHES
AND STUDIES OF « THE GREEN BOOK »



POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BASES OF THE

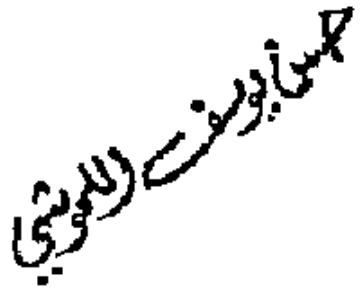
THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

محمد يوسف المقريف

Muammar Qathafi's Thought

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BELGRADE COLLOQUIUM
19-23 April 1982



INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON MUAMMAR QATHAFI'S THOUGHT

THE GREEN BOOK

19-23 AVRIL 1982

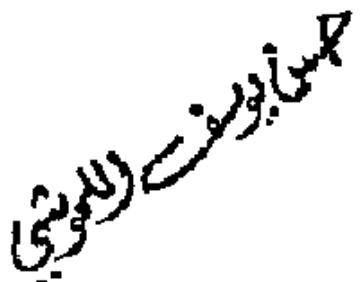
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POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BASES OF THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

« Muammar QATHAFI'S THOUGHT »

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Introduction



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The world faces serious problems carrying a warning sign of danger, and people feel the extreme need to look for a means to avoid it and to lead them to the realm of security, peace of mind and justice.

Indeed, un-fair relationships and wrong rules prevail nowadays either among the individuals within their own society or among different societies. And there is no denying that all systems have been proved so unable to find a fair solution to these injust relations that humanity is now on the brink of a certain jeopardy. This situation has urged all the honest thinkers to look for a new means to save humanity from its sarrows and the continuous agony that possesses them depriving them from happiness and security.

Thus, the Third Universal Theory came out as a natural response to the human research for liberation and in compliance with man's aspirations to set up fair human relationships. By doing so, this theory was able to prove scientifically the core of injustice in these social relationships reinforced by the great powers interests. This theory has also defined how to destroy these relations and designed fair rules to set up just relationships capable to lead the mankind qualitatively to a world relying upon people's sovereignty, equality and justice within the framework of the direct people's democracy.

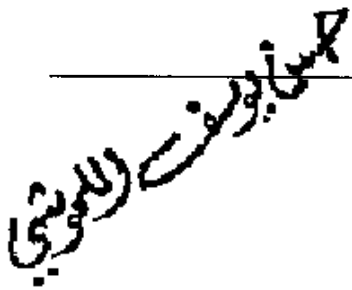
The great interest accorded to Muammar Qathafi's thought by different peoples in the world proves that they have realized the possibilities provided by the Third Universal Theory to help them solve their problems. Scholars and intellectuals' interest and responsiveness to bend on studying and analysing this theory proves the efficiency of the theses presented by the humanist theory to give a definite solution to the chronic human problems.

The International Centre of Studies and Researches of *The Green Book* aiming at explaining and preaching *The Green Book* thoughts is certainly honoured to be a platform of the lasting human theses and statements given by M. Qathafi and the explanations, studies and researches connected to it.

In this respect, the Belgrad Colloquium was held to discuss the political, social and economic bases of the Third Universal Theory, and the socialist self-management that realized great success so far.

Between the covers of this book, the reader will find the researches given by the Libyan intellectuals who took part in this colloquium.

Inaugural Speech



Muhammad AGUIL.
Assistant Secretary
at the opening session
of the Belgrade Colloquium

In the name of God,
the Merciful, the Compassionate,

I am indeed pleased to welcome our friends the Yugoslavian research scholars and their Libyan colleagues and to greet the organizing committee of this colloquium concerning the political, economic and social bases of the Third Universal Theory and Socialism according to The Green Book. The very fact that this colloquium was organized by the Centre for International Studies of the University of Belgrade in collaboration with the World Centre for Study and Research on The Green Book and that it is taking place in Belgrade provides abundant proof of the evolution of the cultural relations and the strong ties which unite the Libyan and Yugoslavian people thanks to the late President Tito and Colonel Muammar Al Qathafi.

It is a fact that Arab-Yugoslavian relations are longstanding. They were strengthening at the time of Abdul Nasser and evolved quite rapidly after the El Fateh Revolution of September led by its helmsman, the revolutionary thinker, Muammar Al Qathafi.

The World Centre for Study and Research on The Green Book which is devoted to the examination and analysis of the human theories announced in The Green Book of Muammar Al Qathafi.

We have already organized a number of international colloquium on Al Qathafi's thought in collaboration with the Libyan University of Gar Yunes in 1979, with the Autonomous University of Madrid in 1980, with the University of Caracas, Venezuela, in 1981 as well as those held in Australia and West Germany.

The Centre has the honour of participating in the organization of this colloquium in collaboration with the Centre for International Studies of the University of Belgrade which affords Yugoslavian Research Scholars an opportunity to examine Al Qathafi's thought as propounded in The Green Book and to consider the solutions he proposes for the problems of modern man. This colloquium is an opportunity for Libyan and Yugoslavian scholars to strike up a meaningful dialogue.

The thought of The Green Book is, in fact, the fruit of man's suffering. The Green Book provides radical solutions to political, economic, and social problems.

The spirit of The Green Book inspired Muammar Al Qathafi to organize a revolutionary movement which broke out on the memorable day of the Fateh in September (September the 1st) in 1969. This book provides the guidelines for revolution and the goals it seeks to attain. Within the past twelve years, the Libyan Revolutionary has made great strides in achieving freedom and happiness for mankind.

Politically speaking, only a few months after the revolution broke out, both British and American Military bases were evacuated and the fascist Italian colonists were requested to leave the country. All oil companies were nationalized.

These political decisions were followed by the people's Revolution in 1973 which provided the masses with an opportunity to eliminate all opportunists and bureaucrats and seized control of the governing bodies, institutions and factories so that they be administered by the people. Such accomplishments led to genuine popular authority and consequently, gave birth to the first Jamahiriya on the 2nd of March, 1977. This marked the beginning of a new era for the Libyan People, "The Jamahirya era" — and the end of the republic, i. e. the traditional state with its president, parliament and representatives or deputies. It involves a system in which authority has been restored to the people who govern by means of popular congress and enforce their decisions through the agency of people's committees.

Ecconomically speaking, the revolution has abolished the banking system, insurance companies and foreign trade so as to protect the national economy against the monopoly of multinational companies.

The economy of Libya in the post-revolutionary period was underdeveloped despite its oil resources which were exploited by foreign companies which shared the profits with the Libyan royal family.

Thus, the revolution was forced to face a catastrophic economic situation. Global economic and social projects were carried out to develop the agricultural and industrial sectors as well as education, health, housing and transport.

The objective of the three-year plan (1963-75) was to establish a sound economic and social foundation in order to diversify production and facilitate the distribution of wealth.

The plan was followed by a five-year plan for economic and social mutation (1976-80). The budget amounted to 10.51 billion dinars (more than 32 billion dollars). The strategic goals of the plan were achieved, i.e. a varied economic structure based on agriculture and industry and capable of providing all public services to the citizens. In this perspective, thousands of houses and dozens of hospitals and schools were built. Thousands of kilometers of roads were paved and an entire network of electricity and communications was installed.

In this way, development projects paved the way to the following plan (1981-85) the budget of which exceeds 60 billion dollars. It aims at setting up a solid economic infrastructure based on heavy industry (steel, iron and processing).

The development plan aims at self-sufficiency for the individual citizen, enabling him to fulfil his needs and to acquire political freedom.

Moreover, all dwellings, as stated in the second part of The Green Book, become the property of their tenants. Consequently, citizens have no rent to pay. Workers are looked upon as partners in development and not wage-earners. Popular trade has come to replace private business. The Libyan Revolution has abolished the rent system as well as profit-seeking business.

The new Socialist Jamahiriya society has eliminated the class struggle since workers are regarded as partners and have no need to resort to strikes and labour unions as is the case in so many other countries. The latter situation proves that the problem concerning the full participation of workers in the production process has yet to be radically solved.

All attempts which have been made to afford workers the opportunity to participate in administration and share the profits have not solved the problem even though they have managed to improve living conditions for the workers.

Indeed, the problem remains and the working class is still exploited. There is, however, a solution ; popular congresses to administrate under the control of the production committee of the enterprise or factory. Thus workers may become partners and not simply wage-earners, i.e. slaves, no matter how high their wages may be.

The problem of productivity remains unsolved despite the efforts of scientists and experts. The reason is very simple : wage earners feel

that they are exploited and do not benefit from the fruit of their production. Besides, their wages are not equal to their production.

Man's freedom cannot be achieved until all his basic needs are satisfied. His happiness depends on a harmonious social existence within a normal family unit, i.e. a father, a mother, brothers and sisters. The family nucleus is the very basis of the social structure in much the same way as the tribe which is nothing but a large family, and the nation.

In dealing with social bonds in the Third Chapter, The Green Book calls upon human society to preserve the cohesiveness of the family, the tribe and the nation in order to benefit from the values and ideals which stem from unity, cohesiveness and fraternity. It also emphasizes the fact that the social factor is indeed the driving force of history. The religious factor, although it may rival the social element by the way it influences the historical process, is still of secondary importance.

Man has always struggled for freedom and happiness. He has always striven to attain power and control over the instruments of governing which have evolved, as man has evolved, from the individual to the tribe and family to the party or clan.

Throughout human history, many revolutions have sought to come up with a solution to the problem concerning the instruments of governing. Many sacrifices have been made to achieve man's greatest goal : freedom. We respect these sacrifices and human experiences for they represent the noblest of human endeavours even though they have not brought about any radical solutions to our problems.

To be sure, the basic principles propounded in the first part of The Green Book, i.e. "no democracy without popular congresses" or "people's committees everywhere" provide the first solution to the universal problem of the instruments of governing.

If the people do not control authority by means of popular congresses and committees, other bodies will govern the people.

The absence of popular authority through people's committees and congresses leads to the appearance of another authority acting "on behalf of" the people. We firmly believe that any representation in lieu of the people is unnatural and implies falsification and usurpation. The individual, the tribe, the clan, the party, or parliament are in fact instruments of authority which govern on behalf of the people.

Let us herald the beginning of a new era for mankind, the Jamahiriya era to succeed that of the republic. Let us proclaim the birth of a society unexistent. Let us announce the advent of the Jamahiriya society in which the individual prevails. Indeed, man is faced with an alternative ; he may either live in this new society and achieve his dignity, happiness and freedom or continue struggling until he finds a way that will inevitably lead him to the Jamahiriya society.

The Jamahiriya state as conceived in The Green Book will radically solve the problems of nations and put an end to social conflicts within a given society (the struggle for power and class struggle) as well as international problems.

Indeed, war often occurs because of personal conflicts between rulers or sovereigns of different nations, without the consent of the people. Furthermore, certain wars are triggered off as electoral strategies or simply to provide the governing individuals with an opportunity to grow rich.

The ideas and initiatives of the Arab Libyan People are in fact based on the theories of The Green Book. On the national level, the people of Libya appeal for the unity of the Arab Nation, the recuperation of the occuped Arab territories and the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland. The Yugoslavian people have always expressed their full support for the Arab cause and liberation movements throughout the world.

The Libyan Jamahiriya and Yugoslavia, as leaders of the non-aligned countries, work actively to promote this idea so that justice and peace may be achieved throughout the world and international relations may be based on mutual respect and equality among nations regardless of their size or power. The two countries have always striven to maintain the neutrality of the Mediterranean sea to keep it peaceful and secure.

The Arab Libyan people have reiterated their firm attachment to freedom and their determination to defend liberty throughout the world. They have pledged to protect the oppressed in the struggle for liberation. They have proclaimed their attachment to socialism and popular ownership. They are determined to achieve the unity of the great Arab Nation.

Such declarations as these which have been put into practice thanks to the support of the people of Libya for the liberation movements throughout the world in the struggle against imperialism, are in fact a response to the imperialist-zionist challenge of the United States of America.

The people of Libya are indeed capable of facing the imperialist challenge because they are free and armed. People who are armed cannot be defeated. We have great faith in our cause because we are within our rights. We whole-heartedly support all causes and struggles for righteousness and justice and we shall suceed with the help of the progressive liberating forces which have placed the Libyan model on an international platform in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and zionism.

I hope that their colloquium and the spirit of discussion it has installed in us will continue to enrich the human spirit and expound the political, economic and social bases of the Third Universal Theory and The Green Book.

May it contribute to the strengthening of relations between the Arab Libyan people and the people of Yugoslavia. May it further relations between the Yugoslavian people and the whole Arab Nation.

First Part

POLITICAL CONCEPT

Introducing the Jamahiri System

Almadani Ali Al Sadiq

Contemporary political thought is dominated by two main theories : the Capitalist theory and the Marxist or Communist one, and according to these two theories, political systems are divided into Marxist or Communist and liberal or capitalist systems.

So, if the political system regards the individual in the same way as it does the community, and makes the individual or the individual self an aim in itself, considering that individuals have natural and sacred rights as a priority over the existence of the community, considering these rights to be asserted and introduced in the face of any authority, even if this authority is the state through a State political organization, this system is considered to be liberal and capitalist.

But, if the philosophy of the political system attaches an increasing importance to the community over the individual, and sees in the individual bourgeois liberties a mere illusion, intentionally meant to camouflage the toiling social classes considering that bourgeois liberties lack guarantee and content, this system is Marxist or Communist.

Some writers are not content with the previous description of political systems and give another classification when they talk about plural or democratic systems and monist or autocratic ones.

In the plural systems, the political struggle for power is clear and evident, while in the monist or autocratic ones, such a struggle does not exist (1).

The first trend was manifest in all American and French human rights declarations. According to the American human rights declaration in July 1771 : "Government exists for one end, which is the protection of the natural rights of man. Inasmuch as any government does not respect that end, the people have the right to disobey it and overthrow it". This was also assured in the 25th article of human and citizen's rights in France in 1789 when it conceded that : "The natural human rights are not liable to be discussed or conceded, and organising the means securing the recognition of these rights to individuals and making them available to them, is the first duty of government, and if the government usurps the right of the people, popular resistance to its despotic behaviour represents then the rights of man, even his duties".

The basic and final aim of the existence of political power, according to this individualist trend, is the creation of a suitable atmosphere for the exercise of public rights and liberties, in security and assurance (2).

But this attitude is criticised in that it guarded liberty in a purely political and legal way, since the authority charged with guarding "public liberties and safeguarding individual rights" has no life of its own, independent from the social system. It is but a tool for it, if the political power takes the character of such a system, (and in a capitalist society, whose economy is based upon exploitation, political power becomes a instrument for protecting this exploitation no matter what claim of democracy or protecting liberties it raises) (3).

Also, the law organising these rights and liberties always becomes contrary to the people's social reality, since law is no more than an image of the dominant instrument of government and doesn't express the wish of all people in a society.

The American writer Newman has clarified the direct reason for the capitalist societies to hold fast to the principle of individual liberties and the superiority of law.

(1) Social change cannot occur but through legislation. The reason for keeping the superiority of legislation has been the middle classes who were contributing considerably to the legislative process. But since necessity always requires an interference in liberty or property, what was securing the interests of the bourgeoisie then, was stressing the supremacy of the law to justify interference according to laws, since the bourgeoisie was overwhelmingly represented in the parliament. That is why the social class whose activity is to be subject to interference will itself decide these interferences, and will evidently take its interests into consideration.

(2) Since parliament is the main factor of social change, supremacy of law means that laws ratified in parliament will serve as a tool to hinder social progress, or at least, to postpone it. This doctrine conceals the will of the ruling class not to submit to social reforms. And the slowness of parliamentary management will also turn the only legal means of social change to a means of preserving the status quo (4).

Criticism is not directed to public liberties or law per se but to the liberal concept of these liberties and the ways to practice and protect

them. Or, as George Bordeau puts it : "What importance is it to man to be free in his thoughts if the expression of this thought brings him social repression, and to be free to refuse the working conditions, if his economic status compels him to accept them ; and to be free to enjoy life, if earning a living takes all his life ; and to be free to develop his personality with culture and discover the world available to all, if he is lacking the vital means (5).

This, Qathafi asserts in a more democratic and overall way : "The problem of freedom in the modern age is that constitutions become the norm of society and these constitutions are based solely on a vision of the dictatorial means of government prevailing in the world, from the individual to the party". The proof of this is the diference between constitutions, though the freedom of man is the same (6). The reason for this deviation lies, according to Qathafi, in that : "the norm of the dictatorial instrument of government has replaced the norm of nature".

Imperative law was a logical norm for a single man ; then came constitutions as imperative laws for many. It is only justified by the will of these instruments of government, the individual, the congress, the class or the party to dominate the people.

So we see that constitutions change with the change of the instrument of government, and this proves that the constitution is the tool of government and exists for their interest and not by a natural law (7).

The conclusion Qathafi gets from this scientific course of analysing the nature of law and its role in the new Jamahiriya society, as a solution from its natural norm, and to avoid the repetition of this shameful phenomenon or the consecration of it : "The solution is that the people be the tool of government, from the basic popular assemblies to the general people's assembly, and that the governmental tools are finally to be replaced by popular committees, and the general people's assembly by a national assembly where basic popular congresses, people's committees, unions, syndicates and all trade unions meet (8).

Supposing that such deviation occurs in spite of these democratic precautions which make it unprobable, the solution to this problem cannot be achieved except through democratic revision and not by means of force, since : "It is here not a matter of a wilful choice for the

style of change or treatment but an inevitable result of the nature of this democratic system, for, in this case, there is no authority outside another to direct violence to it or to charge it with the responsibility of deviation (9).

The second trend is to be found in Marxist thought and its practice in several Eastern European states. This thought is generally based on refusing the liberal character of government and refusing the individual liberties, the core of the liberal system.

The argument of the Marxist system's description of individual liberties as known in the West leans upon some considerations :

(1) Liberty is just a hollow possibility, not fulfilled unless its hollowness is filled with material contents and actual guarantees, securing the active exercise of public liberties, so as to keep the personality of man from slavery and his dignity from crumbling (10).

(2) The authority entrusted with keeping and protecting these public liberties is aligned towards those who own the means of production in society and use them for their interests. This means that Marxism viewed public liberties and all human values from an economic and social viewpoint, since it stressed that means of production embrace all types of political organizations.

According to this, Marxism considered the only meaning of liberty seen from the viewpoint of social domination to be the negation of the exploitation of man by man. This will not be achieved unless social domination is ended, this social domination springing from a class social system where a class is dominating other classes, and the state and law are a political power of oppression in the hands of the dominating class. So liberty has no value except in a system where private ownership of the means of production is abandoned, and as a result, classes and means of oppression being the state or the laws resulting from the division of society into classes, all disappear (11).

In spite of the validity of the criticism, Marxism fell in the same trap as the liberal systems, being based upon the government by the part of the whole, i.e. the government by the class of party of the masses.

But according to the elemental saying formulated by Colonel Qathafi in The Green Book : "the class that inherits society, inherits also its characters".

This means that if the working class smashes all other classes, then the working class becomes the inheritor of society, i.e., becomes the social and material basis of the society. Since the inheritor bears the characteristics of the inherited, though these characters don't appear all of a sudden, but through evolution, so with the passage of time, the characteristics of the liquidated class appear inside the working class itself.

People carrying these characteristics take various directions according to them and so the working class becomes afterwards an independent society showing the same contradictions as the old one.

This is what democracy has turned into in both world systems : Marxism or liberalism mean the rule of the few. More precisely, the rule of the class, the bourgeoisie or the capitalists in the liberal capitalist system ; and the proletariat, represented momentarily in the party, in the Marxist system.

In spite of the scientific and technical achievement accomplished under the two systems, liberal and Marxist, (especially the great progressive and social changes under the second one ; the Marxist), an essential fact remains unsolved and neither systems could find a proper and final solution for it : I mean the problem of the democracy and the instrument of government. The reason for this is that all political systems did not regard the power issue as being a natural and sacred right of man's connected citizenship, but as a function monopolized only by the powerful in society, i.e., the individuals that had a chance to usurp it.

So, in all political systems, as Maurice de Verger clarifies, fierce political battles for power are going on : "between the owners and the subjects, between the members of community and the organ of mass enforcement". And struggle doesn't happen "between authority on the one hand, and citizens on the other, but between some citizens holding power and other citizens subject to it". The reason for this struggle lies in that "the exercise of power is always for the benefit of some stratum or group or class, and struggle against it, is carried out by other strata or classes who want to replace the dominant strata, or groups or classes (13).

Modern political societies are not different, as regards usurping the power, from the old societies based on magic or religion : "Rulers in

the old societies based on magic or religion : "Rulers in the old societies were the heralds of magic powers or gods of the world and men".

And social systems cannot emerge but from submission to these high commandments.

"The power of recent rulers doesn't have a very different nature" (14).

We can detect in all political systems, regardless of their ideological inclinations, that political legality aiming at recognition of the validity of laws and decrees and all acts of government.

Even the idea of a state itself, as a political organization parallel to society or alternative to it, was aimed at justifying the submission of one man to the power of another.

There is no doubt that the Third Universal Theory, by adopting, as we will see, the power of the people (so it becomes undemocratic for a man to submit to a power he does not accept or share) has put an end to all justifications and camouflages of the idea of power.

The solutions of the Third Universal Theory are not confined to the problem of power in its political aspect, but with power in its economic and social aspects.

Thus, it offers solutions radically different from those of both the Marxist and liberal world theories.

If the capitalist theory, with its legalizing of exploitation and unfair competition for wealth, enslaves everybody in his selfishness, stressing openly that the influence of money on government under the law of supply and demand, is something natural and democratic ("Since all people can, under competition, gain fortune and exercise a political influence with it" (15)), the Marxist regimes, by depriving producers of their right in the surplus value (using the Marxist expression) or of their share in the production they produced, according to the text of the Third Theory, are violating not only their economic rights, but also their political ones.

The aim of socialism, as The Green Book will assure us, is not replacing a class with another, because this is not democratic. The important thing is who owns the means of production and to whom goes the surplus value.

The Green Book answers this question stating : "If we analyse the

factors of economic production, from antiquity until now, we always find that it inevitably consists of elements of production and means of production. The natural rule for equality is : every element of production has a share of it, since if one is taken away there would be no production, and every element has an essential role in the process of production ; without it production stops (16).

The natural result The Green Book derives from equality between the elements of production, is the abolition of the wage system and its replacement with the system of partners : "The final solution is the abolition of the wage system, freeing man of his slavery and going back to the natural rules that determined the relationship before the emergence of classes and forms of government and imperial legislation (17).

The human and just solutions of The Green Book are not confined to workers converting them from wage-earners to partners, but encompasses all strata of society. They announce the principle of freeing the basic needs of cloth, house and transport and see that the domination of these needs by any party is considered to be stifling freedom, so this theory prohibits all aspects of exploitation from trade to wage and rent, and sees in surplus saving a violation of another man's need. Also, it refuses categorically the viability of owning land, and only gives the right of using it according to private effort and the satisfaction of basic needs, without using others, on the grounds that land represents a common wealth for all generations, and as such is not to be owned.

Accordingly, the happiness the Third Theory aims at accomplishing, is a happiness here and now, and not postponed as it is in Marxist theory... For it is well known that a transitory period of dictatorship is needed, when violence and stifling of freedoms is practiced, before reaching the stage of the dissolution of state and complete communism, under which all reasons of strife and competition among people will disappear and society will reach a state of stability where class evolution stops and the outcome of production will be according to the need of every individual (18).

And though the state of the proletariat didn't yet exist, this so called state didn't pave the way of its withering : "but it is sure that its basic characteristics are growing, and there is no evidence that they are going to disappear" (19).

So the solution to the problem of democracy cannot be achieved but by the establishment of the state of everybody and governed by the laws of everybody. This is the line separating democracy and dictatorship. When the state is the state of all the people, it is democratic, and when it is the state of an individual, party, or several parties or a class or a family or a clan, we are facing a dictatorial state regardless of the nature of this system, whether capitalist, Marxist, advanced or backward.

After this analytical theoretical introduction, the Jamahiri system is clear to find its bases in the following :

FIRST : DIRECT POPULAR DEMOCRACY :

The Jamahiri system is based upon ratifying the principle of popular power with what it implies of the power of decision-making and its supervision. Every citizen is directly concerned and nobody is supposed ever to replace another in all matters related to legislation and sovereignty and patriotic duties dictated by requirements of citizenship.

We read in the statement of the People's Power issued on March, 2nd, 1977 :

"Direct popular power is the base of the political System in Libyan Arab popular socialist Jamahiriya, power is for the people and no power to anybody else".

The people practices its power through popular conferences, popular committees, trade unions, unions, professional leagues and the General People's Conference...".

So the document of declaration of the people's power is considered to be the first historical document that invests the principle of popular sovereignty with its real and practical significance. And as such, the existence of political parties, and parliamentary assemblies, designate or elected, are groundless.

With the solution of the power problem, all these political establishments lost their legitimacy. Since, if the most comprehensive meaning of democracy, as understood and practiced by liberal systems, is the possibility of rotation of power, supposing that this

possibility is available and secured, we find the Jamahiri system excluding totally the deprivation of a part of citizens from practising acts of sovereignty of filling the important administrative posts in the hope that they will have the possibility of gaining access to these posts or to power in a coming electoral round, this being short or long.

Thus we understand why The Green Book condemns the rule of parties and parliamentary assemblies and considers its existence a sign of absence of democracy in addition to being a factor of social disintegration. Representative assemblies are the back-bone of classical modern prevailing democracies in the world. And a representative assembly is essentially a representation of the people, which basis is undemocratic because democracy means the power to the people, not representing it ; the mere existence of a representative assembly means the absence of the people, while genuine democracy exists only by the presence of the people, not its representatives. Representative assemblies became a legal barrier between the people and the practice of power, since it isolated the masses from the practice of politics and monopolized sovereignty, and the peoples have nothing more than the false aspect of democracy represented in standing in long queues to put the ballot papers in the poll boxes (20).

With the same convincing arguments, comes the condemnation in The Green Book of the rule of the party or parties or class : The party is a dictatorial tool of government, it enables people having the same vision or the same interest to govern the whole people, any people. The party is a minority related to the people. The aim of creating a party is to create a tool for ruling the people, i.e., ruling those outside the party, by the party" (21).

After this refusal accompanied by a condemnation of all dictatorial tools of government, from monarchy to the rule of clan or tribe, and the new tools from the rule of class and representative assembly and party, there is no other way left for peoples but the way of direct popular democracy, its practical guide being the popular conferences and popular committees : "The people are divided into basic popular conferences. Then the masses of these basic popular conferences elect administrative popular committees to replace the governmental management, so all services in the society are run by popular committees, and these popular committes running an entity are

responsible before the basic conferences, which dictate and supervises its implementation.

Thus management and supervision become popular and this gives an end to the definition : "democracy is the supervision of the government by the people". It should be replaced by the correct definition which is : "democracy is the supervision of the people over itself" (22).

The image of the political society in Libya be came identical to these postulates since we find the Jamahiriya divided into a number of municipalities (25 municipalities) every one containing a number of popular basic conferences in proportion with the number of inhabitants. (173 basic popular conferences all over the Jamahiriya) (23), and through direct popular election to the higher level, a specific administrative popular committee is chosen in every municipality charged with undertaking the resolutions and recommendations formulated by the basic popular conference concerning political, economic and social affairs within the municipality. And there is a general popular committee at the level of the whole Jamahiriya with the same duties as those of the administrative popular committees in municipalities, but on a more general level in addition to the issues related to foreign policy. This committee is also elected by direct popular election, and its duties do not exceed those ratified by the basic popular conferences all over the Jamahiriya.

We believe that we need not prove the supremacy of this style of government, adding that the system of direct popular democracy is the original system that fulfills the complete sovereignty of the people. Since this system "alleviates the morale of the whole people and ends the sectarian differences, and cleans the political and social atmosphere, putting constantly in front of the people the living problems and the concrete issues and thus forcing it to be realistic, trying to find the scientific solutions without previous ideas or partial conflicts, insidious propaganda, or hollow slogans. There is a difference between asking the people to choose their representative who will govern in their place, and asking him his opinion in a certain issue, clear and determined. In the first case, the people will be subject to propaganda and liable to hastiness and enthusiasm without substance, while in the second case, he becomes scientific and realistic since he sees the problems in front of his eyes with clear consequences.

SECOND : SOCIALISM

Political democracy stays without content if it does not occur in a socialist atmosphere enabling it to gain success. The Green Book understood this scientific fact when it asserted that in spite of organising society on advanced bases of popular democracy, these bases will stay wet ink, consequently, the powerful in society are the ones who will rule.

Hence the Jamahiri society is organised on bases of genuine socialism refusing all relations of exploitation and all manifestations of economic slavery, so that there can't be a strong exploiting party ruling, and a weak exploited party ruled.

In addition to what is mentioned above, the social and economic bases the Jamahiri society is based upon are the following :

1) Under the new socialist society, no one is permitted to own more than he needs of the wealth of society, and this, with in the limits of satisfying his basic needs without using other's efforts.

2) Liberating all the basic needs of man from all subjugation and dependency and exploitation and economic slavery according to the principle that "in need, freedom is latent". Since practice proved that when the satisfaction of man's needs depends upon the will of another, whether an individual or a state, the will of this person must be influenced by the will of whoever has the capacity to satisfy or deny these needs. Thus the principle : "The house for he who dwells in it, the land for he who tills it, the car for he who drives it, the house to be used by its people.

3) Practising the principle of "partners not waged" in all production relationship, regardless of the parties of these relationships, whether individuals or the state. According to the principle there shouldn't exist any relationship of wage but of partnership so that everybody contributing to the process of production gets a share equal to his effort. So a relationship of exploitation or dependency between the workers and the state, is not imaginable since there are no workers from the start, or a strong side and a weak side, and the effort of producers is no longer sold in the work market. Similarly, it is impossible to steal the surplus of work.

With the end of unjust relationships, all manifestations of protest and refusal taking the shape of strike and refusal to work disappear, and with them the destruction of the pillars of work, since it is not imaginable that a man revolts against his own or protests against a decision he himself formulated with his own free will.

And with the change of producers from waged to partners, the trade unions subsequently change to producing professional conferences, discussing the plans of production and the distribution of its revenues equally among its elements.

Thus the pioneer role of the Third Theory becomes clear, in its amendment of the revolution of producers and the changing of its contents, so that the aim is no longer the bettering of working conditions but the march on factories and the distribution of profits according to the principle of partners not waged.

4) The protection of the cultural and social rights through society's security for every member of the right and the freedom of education. This is not possible unless everything is introduced without prejudice since : "the societies that prevent knowledge and monopolize it are reactionary societies, prejudiced for ignorance and hostile to freedom, societies that distort other's religion and other's culture and other's behaviour and introduce them as knowledge for themselves, are also prejudiced reactionary societies hostile to freedom". The societies that prevent material aid are reactionary societies hostile to freedom (25).

The right of man is no longer confined to a share of education illiteracy, but became, according to the Third Theory a right to knowledge : "Knowledge is a natural right to everybody, and nobody has the right to deprive him of it, under any pretext unless the man himself commited what prevents him from it" (26).

THIRD : ARMING THE PEOPLE OR THE POSTULATE OF ARMED PEOPLE :

The possesion of arms and the monopoly of using and resorting to them, in addition to being one of the manifestations of power in the society, reflects the image of unbalanced non-equitable society. That is why the state is defined usually as a politico-military organization

owning alone the right to resort to force to protect order and enforce law.

According to the political expression : "It is merely this monopoly of enforcement that gives a horrible power to the classes or party or establishment holding the reins of power.

No doubt that the presence of an armed power alone in the midst of unarmed people puts the people under the mercy of whoever owns power. And everybody owning power tends, as Montesquieu, to misuse it, and is only deterred from that by the presence of other powers : power stops power.

Similarly, who owns an arm, as who monopolizes power, is forced to misuse it. Because "who owns a sword is tempted to test it", and will not be deterred but by the presence of others ownings the same arm and knowing how to use it.

Hence the image of the armed people which coincides perfectly with the image of Jamahiri society where all its members have a say in everything. Since, with the elimination of hostile social contradictions among the people by means of applying "the new socialism", and with the prominence of Jamahiri popular law by replacing the governmental power by the power of the whole people, the withering of the traditional military establishments, inseparable from the traditional state in its actual image ; the army and police, and placing in its place the armed people, all because inevitable forced by the concept of the Jamahiri system itself, since in this system all aspects of representation are denied. No one represents another in political decision, making nor in carrying arms, nor in.dying in defence of freedom. The postulate of armed people, then, as much as it is a means of social protection from the danger of usurping power, represents a basic pillar for the Jamahiri system itself.

The Jamahiri society, then, is a democratic popular armed society, but not a traditional political or fascist society.

In the Jamahiri society truth is not concealed, knowledge is not confiscated nor the use of arms monopolized, in contradiction to the traditional political systems which don't want to eliminate the tools of violence, but to confine its use to the hands of power and to prohibit the citizens "to use them".

Briefly, the Jamahiri armed society is a protector of freedom while the traditional or fascist society destroys it.

In the first "Jamahiri" everyone has the duty of practising the use of arms in defence of freedom and popular decision in which he is an active element.

But in the second "the traditional system" no freedom springing from man himself exists, as much as there exist privileges decreed by law, and taken away by law. Man in the Jamahiri system creates his rights and necessities and protects them while the individual in other systems has no rights contradicting the nature of the system under which he lives.

We sincerely believe that the most important historical human deed in the field of man's freedom after the declaration of the People's Power in March 1977, is what is going on in the Jamahiriya to complete the power of people aiming at ending the traditional military establishment and replacing it by the people.

All political systems understand well the importance of arms and its role in usurping power and keeping it.

Throughout all stages of human history, the military power designated the rulers and emperors and overthrew them, not to let them have an independent existence outside the military establishment itself.

And regarding the painful memories precipitated by eras of direct military rule in the minds of people, this kind of rule was refused since it implied fascism and took man back to ages of deterioration and militarism. So, the traditional tools of power invented other types of rule to conceal its military nature, and gave it a touch of democracy and guarantee it a kind of continuity in government, still usurping power from the masses.

These ways and means vary from one system to another

1) In capitalist systems, for example, there are many ways of camouflage : one is the fake pretention that the army is neutral and far from politics, so that the struggle for power may be quiet and pacific and not violent. Moreover, in all capitalist systems, the army and police are trained to do all the specialized and technical works done by workers so as to use them as a "security reserve" able to break all workers' strikes. The army can replace the striking workers.

Capitalist systems chose this camouflage style of government believing that : "the monopoly of power leads to the disappearance of the use of violence in political battles because only one of the fighting parties owns the means for it" (27).

In short, it can be said that in capitalist societies the military are a part of the political game and natural allies to the tools of exploiting government since they "back the minority class that enjoys privileges and needs guns and machine-guns to keep its domination over the exploited classes threatening to disperse it with their numbers" (28).

2) But in political systems of one party, especially the Marxist ones, the legend of the ideological army based upon refusing the forged liberal concept of the neutrality of the army and its distance from the political battle, was created.

The argument of the Marxist systems for framing the army ideologically is that with the end of classes, struggle for power ends, and so there is not justification for the existence of a neutral party in society. So the armed forces became an important element in the party political organization and a vital tool for the carrying out of party programmes. With the merging of the army in power and the party, it often happens that the leader-ship of the party is the leadership of the army, and sometimes the army has the upper hand over the party so power falls in the hands of the military.

Whether power is "for the party as a camouflage and for the powerful part of the society really", in all cases, the freedom of man is non-existent since one part of the society dictates its will.

3) But in the third world, where the army is self-appointed as a political organization and a sole tool of social change, the tools of power have found a big difficulty in gaining power. Thus came the idea of weakening these armies in numbers and equipment and establishing special military forces parallel to the traditional army "of doubtfull loyalty" called as popular militias or patriotic, national or republican guards or deterrent forces etc.

This is not a successful solution to the problem : i.e., the duality of power and arms, except the one invented by Muammar Qathafi and represented in the necessity of the emergence of armed people putting an end to the validity of all traditional military establishments of army and police.

With the disappearance of those twins : power and force, or wealth and arms, as an effective force for imposing the rule of the few, the image of popular rule shines, dazzling sights and hearts.

That was a brief glimpse of the nature of the Jamahiri system and its practical applications in Libya as mentioned in The Green Book.

And through reviewings we can assure that Muammar Qathafi, by formulating this theory, human and all embracing, contributed to human thought and world heritage, this by putting useful and final solutions to man's chronic problems.

Some may say that this theory is not suitable to all societies according to the difference in social problems that this theory tackles.

The answer to this is that any social problem, however different is the people's understanding of it, has only one correct solution. There is only one solution to one social problem, and if there were two solutions to the same problem, one of them must be wrong. We think that the solution of the issue of democracy has only one correct solution, which is the direct popular democracy with its full meaning. Thus we understand Qathafi's assertion that : "democracy has one means and one theory... and the difference between systems claiming democracy is nothing but an evidence that they are not democracies. People's power has one face and popular power can only be achieved in one way, namely, the popular conferences and popular committees. There is no democracy without popular conferences and committees everywhere" (29).

The solution of the issue of socialism cannot be achieved except through freeing the needs and ending exploitation : the solution to the issue of a partitioned nation is only available through its national unity, the solution of the problem of minorities is possible only through recognition of all rights.

The Concept of Law in the Popular Society

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INTRODUCTION

On the outset of our table about the concept and role of law in the popular society we ask ?... What is law ? is it essential ?... What is its objective ? What role does it play in society ?... When we get to know the provisions of the law in a particular society, at a given period of time, another question that comes up is that which is stipulated by law just or oppressive (1). Then what is the criteria by which we would recognise what is just and what is not ? Questions which would confuse the theologist as well as the philosopher.

It is inevitable that we should prepare the way for this study by stating an unvarying social and historical truth, notably, that, man by nature is a social being, who has not lived in isolation, but has since his creation lived communally. His instincts urge him to preserve his entity and raise his standard of living. But he is unable to fulfil his needs on his own, subsequently he has been forced to cooperate with others to that effect.

Man can only survive in a society, and a society cannot exist except when based on a system. An engagement is thus affected between man and society on the one side, and society and law on the other. The existence of society becomes an ipso-facto — since man cannot live except communally. In society relations develop between the different types of individuals which may be familial, social or financial or political and so forth.

In man's efforts to fulfil his desires and acomplish his goals his interests may conflict with those of other individuals and if left on his own to settle his relationships with others as he deems fit, he would undoubtedly let his personal interest prevail and victory would belong to the stronger and chaos would reign and oppression dominate, facts which would threaten the very basis of society.

Thus it was necessary for society to acquire a law so as to be able to organise the activities of individuals as well as their relationships, in a manner which would permit a conciliation between conflicting interests as well as their realisation.

Therefore we see that life in a collective society requires the organisation and control of individual relationships and their subservience to regulations so as to arrive at an equilibrium between the

interests of the individual and those of society which may at times cross (2). So we find that the law is not only a social phenomenon but also a social necessity.

You cannot have a law without a society, and you cannot have a society without law (3). Law is a social phenomenon bound, with society as the liaison between reason and existence, so that it becomes indispensable to the social hierarchy being the instrument for the improvement of conduct as well as an evaluation criteria (4). The phenomenon of the law started as an elementary tool, as simple as the simplicity of life in the ancient communities, and reached complexity in the modern age where legal interference in some instances measures from the total everything problems in public life to the partial aspects of private life. This, no doubt, came about as a result of the continuous increase in the multiplicity of social relations and their tendency to evolve from simplicity to complexity. It should be observed that this evolution is in itself a strong expression of the ties between fact and law.

It is a fact that the law is the basis of society and the source of justice therein, as well as being the reflector of its philosophy and that it is a production of the mind which varies with the variation of the social economical and philosophical connotations in society. The provisions of the law are the frame which holds the values upon which the society is based — in another sense, the law is considered as a social phenomenon emanating from the essence of the society and related to the nature of the people. And so the legal systems of nations develop and are considered as mental productions affected by the traits and particuliarities which distinguish one community from another.

The legal system pertaining to one country is considered as a precise and truthful reflection of the traits and particuliarities which distinguish the citizens of that country from others.

The French legal system for example is considered a truthful and precise reflection of the traits and particuliarities which distinguish the frenchman from the others. This also applies to the Soviet System, German and English systems of law, etc...

The legal systems, in reality are just direct practical applications of the legal values reflected by the political, economical and social theories prevailing in society. These theories determine the role of the

individual in society and his relationship vis a vis the community among which he lives, then participates in the formation of legal values which in turn are translated into legal systems.

The most plausible example of the above, is that consequent to the widespreading of the philosophy of individualism in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, the European legal systems created at that period related to individualism, and were based upon the freedom of the individual as well as the independence of his will. And that the free individual is the axis of the social system. The total social system became then enslaved to serve the individual and attend his wishes (5).

The sea of legal knowledge seems bottomless and endless so that a comprehensive outlook as well as a total review become necessities not to be overlooked for the purpose of attaining the justice which is the objective of every law (6).

In fact a comprehensive outlook necessitates the answering of quite a number of original legal problems, the most important of which, being the classification of the philosophic basis of the law and the objective there of, then to define the effect of the quest for justice on the provision of the law.

The points mentioned, have been endowed like the remaining subjects on the origin of the law, with the care of the professors of law in all countries of the world, resulting in diverse points of view and variations of theories being proclaimed in a manner which reflects the conditions of the period, the circumstances of the place which may affect the researcher and impose on his conduct.

Consequent to this introduction, we are bound to give a simple idea about law before we point out its role in the popular society. In order to effect this end we must clarify what is meant by the term "Law", then we shall show its necessity and define it, later we can bring about its role in society as well as that same role in the individualist, capitalist and socialist doctrines ; finally the role of the law in the popular society.

THE TERM LAW AND ITS CONNOTATIONS

The term, "law", designates — order — we meant by it the repetition of a particular matter on the same theme rendering it subject to a fixed system (7) the term language is given to each theory which comprises the theme of continuity, regularity and systemisation (8). In this sense the term "law" is given to every system which governs scientific ecconomical, social... etc... phenomena.

For law men, the term "law" generally designates the group of rules and regulations which govern life in a community and which should be unanimously revered by the members of this community. A respect which is maintained by the general authority and which would be backed by force of necessity (9). In this general connotation, the term "law" comprises the system which governs accordingly the relationship of the individuals in society. That means all the rules that govern the conduct of individuals and to which they obligatorily adhere in order to arrive at a set system for the community. To that effect the "law" differs from other rules and regulations which govern the conduct of individuals by containing the material element of "penality" to that effect then, "conduct codes", as well as the "transactions law", are not considered as bounding rules of regulations by which individuals are forced to adhere to (10). Constitutions aim at the enforcing of a social system, which the people are compelled to accept under the force of law. While conduct codes have as an objective the inner perfection of man, these codes are not satisfied by professing justice, but supercede it to beg for ("charity"), the penalty resulting from the deviation of these codes is a moral type of penalisation while that related to the violation of the manmade rules and regulations is the imposing of material penalities, despite the fact the previously mentioned general connotation of the term "law" gives its basic concept, yet the term "law" is involved.

A meaning more precise than the former, as often, the term "law" is given to manmade legal rules and regulations which are issued by the legislative authority with the intention of regulating a particular problem in a particular field.

As an example we say — the legal system for universities — The law for real estate — The civil code — The term "legal" in this case

means the legislation which governs a particular issue, such as the "law number 4 for the year 1978 issued on May 6th 1978, agreeing to some rules and regulations related real estate and property.

The National Assembly, formed from a number of citizens delegated by the public would have the concerned party empowered with the authority issue legislative laws.

The second chapter of *The Green Book* announces "It is invalid and undemocratic for a committee or a parliament to be entitled to draft the law for the society. It is also invalid and undemocratic for an individual, a committee or a parliament to amend or abrogate the law of the society".

In the Libyan Arab Populist and Social Jamahiriya following the proclamation of the 2nd of March 1977, declaring that authority lies with the people. The Libyan Arab People practice direct democracy and legislation in an effective form through Popular Congresses and the People' Committes. What is drafted by the General People's Congress, will in turn be submitted to Popular Congresses, people's committees, syndicates and unions. The People's Committees, responsible to the basic popular congress will then pass executive actions of legislation based on the latter's decisions and recommendations.

The term, "Law" is used to denote a particular aspect of the "Law", for example we say, "The International Law — The civil law", "The maritime Law"... In this case what is meant by the term "law" is a number of rules and regulations which govern the conduct of individuals, as well as those of other activities in a particular field.

Therefore when we say the "Civil Law", we mean the rules and regulations which organise the civil relations between the individuals (11). The term "Law" may be used particularly in relation to a special issue, so we say the "Set Law" (Man made Law) in opposition to the, "Natural Law".

We mean by the descriptive word "set" which precedes the word "Law", that its rules and regulations are actually practised and applied in a particular country at a given time. We say for example the "Set Libyan Code of Laws", so as to designate the law practiced in the Jamahiriya at the present time.

As for the term, "Natural Law", it is used to denote the set of eternal

ethical rules and regulations, which God created for the universe and which are recognised by the mind and considered as the highest criteria of justice as well as the basis of the "set code of rules and regulations" (Man made Laws) in every society. The justness and ethics of the "set Law" (Man made Law) are measured by the approximity and their conformity with the natural Law. Whenever their rules approach those of the natural Law the nearer they are to justice and perfection.

Thus the preachers of the natural Law believe that this law is the axis of all legality and the source from which the set Law (man-made) derives its context, considering that the natural law is the source from which the legislator acquires the principles which guide the judge.

THE NECESSITY OF THE LAW

Since the beginning of mankind, man has ignored isolation, being by nature a social creature and a social being who cannot survive alone, but has lived communally since his creation, driven by the instinct of his love of communing with his like as is the case with many types of animals.

As a result of man's communal life there developed conflicting interests which brought about the painful struggle among people as to who should dominate who, who shall rule and how would he practise his authority.

The community, being a necessity for man's life the leads to development of various types of relationships between people (which may be familial, social, financial or political and so forth).

The individual, in his effort to fufill his needs and attain his desires, may come into conflict with the interests of others, and if each person is left to himself, the law of the jungle may reign and the survival of the fittest would prevail, and people may then be resigned to wild instincts, and natural and mental superiority would be lost (12). Oppression, and exploitation would prevail, conditions which would threaten the entity of society.

That is why life in a community necessitated the organisation of the relationships between individuals and their subjugation to ties aiming

at the realisation of a balance between the interests of the individual and social interests (between the interest of the individual and that of society) which might conflict at times.

That is the reason why communities, since the beginning of time, felt that the regularisation of life therein, as well as its continuity are bound by the setting of rules aiming at organising society as well as stabilising it. Law then, is a necessity for the development of the community as it is unimaginable that a community may come into being without a law, or else the relationships of individual would then become chaotic and peace and stability would desappear.

To sum up, the law as we previously stated, is a social phenomenon as well as a social necessity, there would be no law without society and no society would exist without law, (as it is indispensible for the social echelons of any society) it being the principal element for the systemising of conduct and criteria for its evaluation.

DEFINING THE TERM LAW

Leopolin and his collegues, the law professors agree upon the difficulty of coming up with a comprehensive definition of the law, which would comprise all that falls within its radius which expends with the expension of life itself. To that effect Leopolin prefers to give up trying to enlist all that lie within this radius — to the extent of drawing a circumference defining what lies within its bounds and what not (13).

Some define the "Law", as being "a set of rules and regulations which discipline the conduct of individuals in the community, a general discipline imposed by threats of punishment for violations committed against it". Meaning that the law in the typical society is a set of compulsory rules and regulations which discipline the conduct of individuals in society ; A general discipline realising the interest of individuals and professionals and being forcibly applied by means of a concerned higher authority.

From this point I resume my speech about two types of "law" — a just law — and an oppressive one.

A "just" law ; which is an expression of public will — and a law representing the wishes of the ruling minority, which may be a class, a tribe, etc...

The "law" is defined as a general rule meant to accomplish social justice among people by means of the various ties and relationships prevailing in society. — This is to be accompanied by a form of punishment sufficient to ensure its respect by every one. Or else relying on a material or moral authority affecting people, and different political institutions to adhere to its regulations (14).

It is a binding rule of social guidance, depending on its application, on respect and punishment which is maintained by a higher authority. Being in addition a general rule as well, equally applicable to all individuals and official organisations active in society, thus leading to justice which is the general outcome of its application.

But in popular society it is possible to define the law as a "set" of rules which govern the conduct of individuals in the community and which have been drawn up by the "General Popular Congress".

As for decisions and recommendations of the Basic Popular Congress, its objective is the protection of the popular legitimacy represented by the authority of the people which does not conflict with the law of society. — The Koran — "The aspect of these laws is the preservation of popular democracy — Satisfying needs and affirmation of the proclamation of the rule of "Partners not wage-workers" and masters in their own castles — To wage war against all types of exploitation and finally to destroy all oppressive rules so as to build the new Socialist Society. The society of material and spiritual freedom, goodness and equality. The society where no one is defrauded, terrorised and oppressed — No masters no slaves — But brothers in a society which by the will of God shall enjoy plenitude and equality (15)".

THE ROLE OF LAW IN SOCIETY

The objective of the Law is to organise society so as to realise the general welfare of the individuals, as well as the assertion of its general interests. On the other hand it undertakes to preserve the freedom of individuals and their private interests (16).

The Law in its essence is an element leading to the fulfilment of the requirements of society, comprising bilateral interests and setting down a social system for the organisation of social life according to the

requirements envisaged by its members. It designates the status of each individual, and defines the fields which would be open for him to practice his activities as well as those which would be restricted (17).

The work of the law is the organisation of society side by side with preserving the interests and freedom of the individuals as well as the general interest. As it aims at creating a society based on a particular pattern it is looked upon as a law in political service. We can then acknowledge the fact that in reality the Law is but an element used for the comprehensive organisation of society (18).

The law lays down a set of conduct codes which are to be adhered to by the members of society with the aim of the realisation of justice through smashing the basis of oppression, absolving exploitation, despotism and domination... "Just is... all action or basics allowing the co-existence between the freedom of one person and that of another person over all law. "He who stands between me and this is an oppressor to me and an unjust action is an obstacle to freedom and repression is an obstacle to freedom ; but this does not imply that all obstructive actions are unjust.

Repressing that which obstructs freedom is considered as "just". Based on this, repressing what is damaging to freedom is a matter related to the law, to be more precise if an authority undertakes to prohibit what violates freedom it is considered as a just theory inspite of the fact that this prohibition may prove to be harmful to the freedom of the transgressor (19).

Justice is an "idea" which is not founded simply on the principle of, "not harming others" and giving every one his dues — but harbors a deeper concept ; i.e. The balance to be achieved between conflicting interests, with the objective of effecting the system necessary for the peace and development of the human race and society. Justice, then, is a mobile element necessitating a steadfast search for the acquirement of the knowledge of what should be administered to every individual and the method of this administration (20). It is appropriate to refer here to the fact that it is necessary for every system aiming at the preservation of the freedom as well as the private interests of the individual, for it to be based on equality among people. The equality stipulated in the provisions of laws of capitalist nature (21) is a civil and not social equality. In other words this equality is an equality based on

supposition not on fact. People, then, become under these capitalist laws, unequal even though they are defined in the laws as being equal. Needless to say that a system aiming at the realisation of general welfare, should be a just one (22).

If justice is to be the basis of this system, the coalition between general and individual interests must be equally balanced so as to prevent confliction at times (23). The idea of law in itself is that of a just organisation of society ensuring the freedom of individuals and maintaining the general interest (24).

For the law to be just two main conditions must prevail during the process of its formation : popular participation of the masses and overall equality for all citizens as far as legal and social status are concerned (25).

Regarding the condition for popular participation of the masses in the making of the law ; — The people — all the people must enjoy full sovereignty — That means this participation must not be limited to a family, a tribe, a group of parties who would act on behalf of the people.

"There is no representation in lieu of the people and representation is fraud"... The first chapter of *The Green Book* announces... "A parliament is a misrepresentation of the people and parliament — any parliamentary governments are a misleading solution to the problem of democracy. A parliament is originally founded to represent the people, but this in itself is undemocratic as democracy means the authority of the people, not an authority acting an their behalf (26).

In the parliamentary systems prevailing in the world, the parliament and national assembly are the ones endowed with the executive power. That means a number of delegates representing the people practise on their behalf the legislative authority, in consequence, the stipulation of popular participation in the formation of the law is unfufilled as far as these systems are concerned.

In the Libyan Arab Populist and Socialist Jamahiriya, the Libyan Arab People gathering in the general meeting place of the basic popular congress, people's committees, the unions, the syndicates, and all professional associations — namely the gathering of general people's congress. — announced to the world, the outbreak of the "Authority of the People". Proclaiming thus to the nations of the world

the beginning of the "era of the masses". This declaration stipulates in its third article that : Direct popular democracy is the basis of the political system in the Libyan Arab Populist and Socialist Jamahiriya. Authority belongs to the people and none other.

The people's authority is realised by one method, namely, popular congresses and people's committees, unions, syndicates and all professional associations and the General people's Congress.

The Libyan Arab people, following the proclamation declaring the "authority of the People" which took place on the 2nd of march 1977 took over the authority.

Henceforth authority belonged to the people and direct democratic methods were applied in the Jamahiriya.

The entire nation practiced executive power through the Basic Popular Congresses. The General People's Congress which drafts the laws in execution to the decisions and recommendations of the Popular Congress.

To sum up, the stipulation for popular participation in the formulation of the law is thus present — as all masses of the people in the Libyan nation participate in the making of the law — By means of People's Committees, where law — drafts are presented for discussion and what has been approved according to their conviction, is then presented to the General People's Congress which will in turn submit it to the popular Congress who will start executive action. On the other hand, a law draft may be amended or abrogated or accepted. Whatever the verdict, the decisions and recommendations are passed on to the Basic Popular Congress.

The second element pertaining to the justice of the law is achieved by means of total equality of all the people vis a vis of the law.

For a popular democratic law does not only imply the participation of the masses in its formation, but also denotes the legal and economical equality of these masses (27).

In the event of inequality of legal status, the law issued in this situation will undoubtedly be unjust, eventhough the element of popular participation in its formation be adhered to.

In the capitalist societies, wealth varies, exploitation and despotism reign, and authority is monopolised by a particular class. The law which is set in such a society is an oppressive law because it shall

voice the interests of the ruling class ; it shall thus protect exploitation and oppress the weak.

The Great Revolution of *El Fateh of September* has been alert to the importance of legal equality for all citizens, particulary economic wise thus affirming the justness and popularity of the law. *The Green Book* has in all three parts affirmed the principle of overall equality of the people vis a vis of the law. "Authority, wealth and arms belong to the people".

In the second part of *The Green Book,* we come accross several rules which confirm this principle. "In Need Freedom is Latent" "Masters in their own Castles" "Partners not wage-workers".

The Green Book, has set the foundations for the, "New Popular society" — in order to destroy slavery and the exploitation of man. These gains were corollated with the call to "march against public and private sector establishment and to converge them into establishments owned by the people. Thus producers would become consumers and not merely wage workers.

A correct practice of the rules found in all three parts of *The Green Book* is what is needed for the creation of the Popular Society. The society of justice and equality — The society where authority, wealth and arms belong to the people.

Such a society will undoubtedly comprise the two basic conditions for the justice of the law — popular participation — and overall social and economic equality for the people — If the law — wherever it is practiced — has one connotation — it cannot mean that the existence of one law conforming in substance and essence could preside over all societies.

The truth is contrary to this — for in all human societies there exists a particular law which would or would not, totally conform to another law in another society, as far as both would have common, principle whether political and economical or social ideas.

The law as an institution is the basis and source of justice in a society, as well as the reflector of its philosophy. But being the production of the mind it becomes changeable with the changes of the social, economic and political context of the society which it represents and in which it is practised. The role of the law in any society is expressed by what is expected of it in this society, and since the law is

not only a social phenomenon, but also a social necessity acquiring its factual content not from itself but from the circumstances of life, therefore its role will differ from one society to another, *"the differences between trees due to soil and climate* (28) that is to say, circumstances in each society affect the very role of the law in that particular society — but the general quality of the law remains the same — namely — the protection of the ruling interests in society.

The role of the law in any generation, is the protection and reservation of social status whether good or bad — If it is a tribal status then the role of the law would be to protect the tribe — If sectist, then it would be to protect the sect. If religious, then it would be to consolidate religion and to fight heresy and atheism (29). If capitalist, the law would see to it that individual ownership and exploitation would be upheld. When socialist, then it would aim at protecting social gains and wage war on exploitation and despotism.

Before we define the role of the law in the Populist Society, we have to cast a brief outlook about how the law is affected by the philosophy which is embraced by the society.

We speak of the "outlook", of the Philosophy of Individualism (Capitalism) and its effect upon the role of the "Socialist Doctrine". If we come to be acquainted with the role of the law according to these two doctrines it would facilitate for us the understanding of the law in the populist society.

THE DOCTRINE OF INDIVIDUALISM

This doctrine started during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in particular during the latter century and reached its zenith and had its golden age in the 18th century and was generally acknowledged during the French Revolution by its philosophers who embraced it and based upon it the idea of the "social contract".

This doctrine is built upon the idolisation of the individual's freedom, its protection and the realization of its welfare — it also maintains that the law must ensure the interests of the individual without paying any heed to what is known as the interests of the community, since it considers itself as independent (30). The partisans of this philosophy,

maintain that the realisation of the interests of the individual is the route to the realisation of the welfare of the community.

The individual according to this philosophy is the basis and aim of the law and the law here becomes the personal tool of the individual which he uses to attain his gain as well as his happiness.

Built on the assumption that the realisation of the personal interests of the individual will eventually lead up to the realisation of the general welfare and happines of the entire community, the individualists maintain that the rights of the individual are imposed by nature, and are born within him, being rights synonymous with the human attributes which, in turn, are within each individual in the community (31).

Based on this all members of the community are born with equal rights, just as their equality in humanity.

The doctrine of Individualism maintains that the best communities are those which uphold the freedom of the individual to the greatest extent, assuming that the individual is the, "cell" which makes up the community. The community is to award its respect to the individual and compel everybody also to do the same.

Law tends to limit the natural freedom of the individuals to the extent necessary to ensure freedom for every one (32). The enjoyment of rights is based on mutual respect between individuals and the community in order to attain total equality between people.

The purpose of the law is to set down a system which would oblige everyone to respect the rights and freedom of the other. The doctrine of individualism preaches the theory that the freedom and rights of the individual supersedes society and law, thus the role of the law here, becomes negative and is limited to very confined measures. We therefore find that according to the doctrine of individualism, the principal thing is freedom — the exception is the influence of the law to restrict this freedom. An exception which is to be practiced on very confined instances, allowing the individual a free hand. The activity of the law is then restricted to the safeguarding of the rights and freedom of the individual. But the law which is a basic requirement is thus not authorised to belittle the rights and freedom of the individual, except for the purpose of protecting and ensuring the rights and freedom of others. Its role then is confined to the illustration of limitations and

bounds to be practised upon the freedom of the members of the community — The law would demonstrate the circumference of activity of each individual and forbid him from being aggressive to others.

The doctrine of Individualism reaches its peak by declaring its famous philosophy in the sphere of "Contracts", and which came to be known as "Domination of the Will" (33). The will of the individual being the master of domination and power and is endowed with the capacity of creating rights and duties by itself or in co-operation with others, therefore the individual is free to undertake a contract or not, as well as to choose the contracting party, and contents of the contract with out curatorship from either the law or the judge.

The judge is to respect the will of the contractees and to interpret the contract in the same manner he does the provision of the law, since the contract is considered as the legislation of the contracting parties.

We have to admit, that the doctrine of Individualism had its effects in the glorification of the individual freedom, and in paving the way for the acknowledgement of the value of the human being as possessing a will of action of his own, in addition to maintaining equality among people in rights and duties.

As well as the struggle against the tyranny or oppression of the rulers.

The manifestation of this doctrine was natural and essential in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where the tyranny of rulers became intensified and the state dominated and class distinction became very much apparent. This doctrine flourished, and was widespread by the philosophers of the French Revolution who officially acknowledged it in the document proclaiming "The Rights of Man and Citizen" Article 1 stipulated : "Man is born Free and enjoys equal rights."

To sum up, the doctrine of individualism has exaggerated in relying on the individual to the extent of exceeding all bounds — the individual became the object for the existence of the law and it was supposed that the individual has rights which supersede the law. This is a faulty supposition as the aim for the existence of the law is the organisation of society and the préservation of its entity — if the attainment of this objective necessitates the preservation of freedom it would be accomplished in response to the requirements of the general welfare

of the community, including the protection of the welfare of the individual.

The individual possesses no rights except those accorded him by the law of the society (34).

The second defect in the Individualistic principle is that both freedom and equality, which this doctrine preached — were the products of imagination and presumptions — from the mere practical aspect we can say that this doctrine is based on freedom and equality, but from the practical point of view this doctrine has not attained its objective — on the contrary, — it has lead to this disturbance of equilibrium between individuals — as well as to the exploitation of the weak, by the stronger members of the society.

The experiment proved that the individual is more qualified than others in recognising his own interest has been wrong upon application. This idea pre-supposes that the individual is conversant with past and present facts, as well as supposing him able to continually refuse to put his signature on a contract or undertake an action harmful to himself and that necessity will never oblige him to accept one sided contracts and that his contractual party would always be inferior to him economically wise.

All these are but suppositions, impossible to fulfil under a capitalist system.

As a natural consequence of the capitalist outspread was the emergence of clear economic inequality, creating instances where both contracting parties where obviously unequal, the stronger financially was able to dictate his conditions.

The capitalists thus dictated their conditions to the workers, who accepted without complaint, knowing they were being treated unjustly and were taken advantage of, as the result of the undertaking of such a contract. But the workers had no choice but to bow to the masters or they were doomed with their families to the threats of poverty, hunger, and unemployment. Should individuals be given the right to organise their relationships by themselves, the principle of domination of the will, leads to the increase of the power of some members in the community over others, resulting in the domination of this minority by the remaining majority, as well as the dictating of its conditions, mis-use and exploitation by this majority. How can we then affirm, that

an individual who is misused and exploited in the interest of another is still free ? "Freedom is latent in need".

"The second part of *The Green Book* declares", Man's freedom is lacking if somebody else controls what he needs... For need may result in man's enslavement of man. Need causes exploitation. Need is an intrinsic problem and conflict grows out of the domination of man's needs" (35).

It is evident that the economic inequality of people shall lead to the exploitation of the weak by the strong ; as well as the fact that the liberation of total unconditional freedom of the individual, is denying the principle of economic power of some, which would consequently lead to unaccepted results.

Giving the right to individuals to freely manipulate their relationships according to their will, leads to freedom becoming a tool in the hands of the strong enabling them in order to attain their aims. "He who controls your need controls you and exploits you may even enslave you... despite the existence of a law which forbids that (36).

The principle of... let him work ... let him pass... has lead to the growth of capitalism as well as the increase of capitalists and their danger, making of freedom a mirage due to the inexistence of actual equality. And so capitalists became despotic, and control workers imposing on them unjust conditions and low wages which they were compelled to accept so as to be able to face the needs of life. The producers exploited consumers, proprieters their tenants. All this in the name of freedom and equality.

"The one who owns the house in which you live, or the boat you ride or the income by which you live — owns your freedom or part of it... freedom cannot be derived — For a man to be happy he must be free — and to be free he must be the master of what he needs... It should be personally owned and revered... Its acquisition in the form of a wage permits its original master to interfere in your private life and to control your urgent needs — even if society — it would still control your needs and make you lose your happiness" (37).

Freedom and equality upon which the doctrine of individualism is based, does not lead to the happiness of the entire society, but to that of a special class on account of the majority. We cannot say that a

contract between two parties is on equal terms if the economic balance is unequal.

In a capitalist society, unbalanced powers exist side by side. — The capitalists on the one side and the majority of the people on the other, in other words — one party owns, controls and takes advantage of another — weak who is subdued and gives in.

The saying that freedom exists on the part of this weak and exploited party is false... The reverse is true — freedom is enjoyed by the strong party for they alone can dictate their conditions without any objection from the other parties.

We can thus say that freedom and equality upon which the doctrine of individualism has been based leads only to the happiness of the strong parties on the account of the majority of the people, because the strong parties exploit and enslave the weak for their own interest. All this under the slogan of freedom and equality.

This capitalist view cannot help but create an oppressing law as it protects exploitation, despotism and oppression. All these defects and calamities which lead to the increase of attacks on the doctrine of individualism which in turn leads to the birth of the socialist doctrine to which is attributed the development of the role of the law from negativism to positivism based upon the interference in the activity of the individual in order to attain the general welfare.

THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE

It is clear from the above that capitalism exploited the law for the sake of ensuring the freedom of its interests, but the movement of workers on one side and thinkers on the other lead to the shifting of capitalist's states and rendering them more humane, in accordance, the law also budged so that its control weakened and became yielding.

But as for the human race's misfortune, it does not free itself from the harmful doctrine of individualism but falls into another evil. It implored safety, from the scorching of capitalism to fall into the fire of communism.

The middle of the nineteenth century was the scene for a new current imposed by the circumstances of that century and was crystalised by the thinking of many of the writers of that age headed by Karl Marx and Engels.

The nineteenth century witnessed the industrial revolution which lead to the usage of machinery and the emergence of huge monopolies as an inevitable result of the philosophy of individualism governing at that time when the gap between classes widened ; particularly between the working class and the masters whese under the *screen* of freedom, and the principle of the domination of the will, the master exploited the workers by the imposition of repressing and harsch conditions.

Faced with these and other circumstances the importance of the doctrine of individualism emerged which paved the way for the emergence of the doctrine of socialism.

The social doctrine considers the community as representing man and that the individual is not a being independent from others, but looks upon him as a social being related to other beings and united in solidarity with them for the sake of realising the welfare of the community to which they belong.

Thus what is of primary concern is the good of the community and if the happiness of the community is attained then the happiness of the individual is ensured because both objectives do not conflict. Both participate equally for the realisation of the general wellfare of the community.

The individual under the social doctrine is enslaved for serving society. Individually he has no entity but finds himself in the society in which he is a member.

Equality, according to the social doctrine, does not exist between the members of society in the individualistic capacities as mere individuals, but equality is related to the principles of individuals as to capacity ability need — or the role performed by each in society.

Equality here is relative, the doctrine of individualism is based upon private interchangeable justice which equals between people while the social doctrine preaches general justice — distributory justice and social justice.

The socialist doctrine cannot be denied its grace in suppressing extremistic individualism and its consequences ; the despotism of the rich and their despotism on the poor as well as the shedding of the general good for the account of some private interests (38). But this doctrine, like the individualist, has not been deprived of extremism and

exaggeration ; we said the doctrine of individualism sacrifices the individual for the benefit of the community making him serve it even at the expense of his freedom. The hold of the state strengthens until it becomes despotic and oppressive.

The Social Doctrine in fact, is endowed with a prerogative which cannot be denied, for it aims at the realisation of the general welfare of the community and considers individuals merely as the elements constituting it. Under the auspices of this doctrine the state plays a positive role in the name of the general welfare of the community, from the political point of view the state interferes in order to limit freedom, driven by the general good, so that the individual enjoys freedom at the rate permitted by the community, in addition to the fact that individuals under the patronage of this philosophy are equal in the enjoyment of their rights and in abiding by their duties whenever their circumstances permit.

From the economical point of view this doctrine is built on the principle of the interference of the state in all aspects of economical activities, contrary to the free doctrine which allows the individual complete freedom in this field. As for the legal aspect, as a result of embracing the social doctrine the enlargement of the circumference of the law, in his opinion law is not limited to positive rules aiming at preventing individuals from surpassing their rights, as well as the aggression against the rights of others, but also comprises positive regulations, resulting from the interference of the state, which obliges individuals to adhere to a number of duties leading to the happiness of the community.

But the major drawback in the social doctrine is that it took an extreme standpoint in revering the freedom of the community and sacrificed the individual for its sake, even if this necessitated denying the private welfare of the individuals, shed away their freedom and transform the individual into a tool created to serve the community.

This extremism may lead to the damage of the interests of the community itself as this exaggeration could deprive the individuals from the spirit of personal zest for work, since at the final stage the individual is considered as a slave of the state. This doctrine is also faulty in the fact that it leads to the despotism of the state and its interference in all matters being and in a way that obstructs freedom.

Communism, they say, aims at realising justice, but communist justice was impotent in realising some freedom, as freedom is the means to justice, but justice cannot be the route to freedom. Freedom is the nutrition of the mental element in man, while justice is the nutrient of the organic element ; lacking freedom, repression cannot be defined as so. It is therefore possible to accept it for a long while until it reaches a stage where the body is unable to bear it, and it is then only that the people revolt (39).

The historic experiment confirmed that the maintenance of freedom could lead to the realisation of justice or at least a fragment of it, but justice on its own cannot lead to freedom, for capitalist freedom as afore mentioned inspite of its shortages enabled the people to attain some of their demands and also realised a slight portion of justice. Nevertheless this justice remains incomplete as long as capitalist freedom is lacking in its turn.

As a result of the emergence of the theory of communism the individual tumbled from his throne, and authority was assumed by the state, being the element by which the party governs. The Soviet theologist Maltex states, "The capitalist law was erected on the basis of the abstract natural laws of the individual, he was put in the midst of the world and was surrounded by the holiness of the state, but the proletarian state does not limit itself but limits its citizens (40). And as mentioned by Lenin the law became the policy as well as the means by which the party executes its objectives." Meaning that law was completely subjugated to the will of the state/party or in consequence the role of the law was limited in as much as the protection of the interests of the working class are concerned. The Law according to the Marxist presentation is the means by which politics proceed henceforth it should be flexible and consistent with party politics and treading in its tails (41).

The Marxist system produced a type of law which does not protect the rights in as much as it imposes duties. As well as a type of justice which aims primarily at exterminating the opposition and eliminate them compelling the searchers to adhere to the philosophy of the party, to direct all peasants and workers towards the building of a socialist economy.

The truth is that the state of the working class, "Proletarian", which is the nearest to the state governed by the divine rights of kings and whose will is law (42), each citizen in the proletarian state knows perfectly well that any decision by the Central Committee of the Communist Party is more effective than any provision of the law or even the constitution.

To sum up, individual philosophy is undesireable and radicalism in the direction of society shall also lead to undesireable results. Moderation is required in order to adjust between the general welfare and the welfare of the individual. This is the objective which the Third Universal Theory which is applied in the Libyan Arab Populist and Socialist Jamahiriya desires to attain.

Exaggeration in individualism leads to misery for most people. Exageration in social philosophy kills the spirit of diligence and work. Based on that, the Third Universal Theory chose a third route — it lays the foundations for the Popular Society, the society of Power and wealth it the hands of the people. It forbids exploitation and despotism whether these be practised by capitalism or by the state. Workers in the "popular society" are not slaves to the masters or to the states on the contrary they are partners in production.

THE ROLE OF THE LAW IN THE POPULAR SOCIETY

The Popular Society is an overall system for all activities, having as an objective the realisation of the greatest amount of freedom, justice and equality. The Popular society, therefore represents a high degree of political, economic and social systemisation. And since the law is the tool of any political, economical and social system, and setting forth from accepted facts upon which the popular society is based and which shall be later mentioned, we are justified in asking the following question.

Is the law considered as a necessary element in the *Popular Society ?*

This question has been answered by the document which proclaimed *the authority of the people,* as article 3 stipulates that the law sets down a system for the manner in which the people shall

practice authority. Law then is necessary for the *Popular Society* (43) because it is the means for the realisation and guarantee of the people's objectives in the *Popular Society*.

The Law, then, becomes the major support for the erection of the new socialist system in the Jamahiriya. The law thus becomes the element of the realisation of the objectives of the *Popular Society*.

In the face of the liberal capitalistic exploitation embalmed in the domination of parties, parliamentary systems and capitalism, another trend arose in opposition to this, — being the Marxist trend. This philosophy abolished capitalism dictatorship but inserted in its place the proletarian dictatorship, in other words the domination of the proletarian class upon the government through its ruling Communist Party.

Marxism abolished capitalist exploitation of the working class and replaced it by the exploitation of the state of the same working class. The worker instead of having been a slave to the master became a slave to the state.

The sour experiences, repressions and tragedies which humanity has gone through on its route to search for an ideal way for man to practice his power and freedom and all these quests which are made by humanity represent the essence of man's crisis in our contemporary world.

The struggle of man with the elements of repression, exploitation and subjugation are but evidences of man's refusal of various elements of governmental forms of repression and domination.

As an inevitable result of this awful struggle which mankind underwent and is still undergoing, appeared the Third Universal Theory, which *The Green Book* brought up, and which aims at creating direct popular democracy.

This theory refused all types of dictatorship starting from that of the party, individual, class distinction, and Parliament... to create from the innermost of that refusal, the direct popular democracy as an expression of the true concept of sovereignty, as well as the actual practice by people of their political, economic and social capacities. *The Green Book* in its three parts draws up the pillars of the free and just society, the society in which man becomes the measure as well as

the basis for everything. The Society which is free from repression, domination and despotism.

This is the Popular Society (44). In this society the sovereignty of the law is in complete accordance with that of the people and where democracy lies in popular rule (45) and is not just a facade.

The Popular system is built to begin with upon the principle of popular authority. The authority to take a decision, then to supervise and execute it. This system aims at creating the "State of all the People" as well as governing per the laws approved by the basic Popular Congress.

Every citizen in the Popular Society practices direct authority, as there is no representation in the popular society. "Representation is fraud". The principle has been affirmed in the document for the proclamation of the authority of the people. "Direct popular democracy is the basis of the political system in the Lybian Arab Populist and Socialist Jamahiriya. Authority is for the people and none other and the people practice their authority by means of the popular Congresses and committees as well as professional unions. Through Popular Congress the people practice executive power, making a national decision, choice of popular Committees and calling then into account when necessary in addition to the follow up of the execution of the decisions of the Popular Congress.

Thus *The Green Book* put into practice the popular capacity for democratically making a decision and executing it without representation and guardianship.

Popular democracy aims at attaining freedom and equality and justice in as much as it becomes the best field left to man which safeguards him from the attacks of the oppressor, as well as overpowers the shedding of blood and ends the exploitation and plundering of capitalism.

Popular democracy means the government of the people, by the people, for the good of the people. This democracy is distinguished by a major asset namely the sovereignty and authority of the people. People themselves practice democracy and this then is direct popular democracy.

The popular system also aims at fulfilling the statement of "Revolution by the people".

The political gains previously mentioned and which are represented by the direct popular democracy would be meaningless and worthless unless socialism is practiced — because this is what paves the way for the success of Direct Popular democracy. *The Green Book* realised this so the first part anounces... "theoretically, this is the genuine democracy. But realistically, the strong alway rule, i.e. the stronger part in the society is the one that rules" (46).

Part 2 of *The Green Book* announces :

The solution of the economic problem/socialism following a detailed study of all past economic experiments, and after it became obvious that these systems failed and it was impossible to solve the economic problem as well as the attainment of the expected goal/being the happiness of mankind (47). *The need for the new socialist system emerged as an inevitable result for the shortcomings of the past economic systems ; in spite of the changes and developments that took place within these systems as a trial to solve some of the economical problems which surfaced from time to time* (48). *The capitalist system gives the individual freedom ; thinking that he, more than any one else is capable of knowing what is good for them.*

The experiment showed that this as a wrong assumption upon application (49). The capitalist system has not achieved happiness for every member of the society but provided this happiness to the capitalists who owe the capital and who control political and economical powers.

In addition to the fact that the Marxist system has also realised the happiness and welfare of the ruling class as well as to party members. As for the remaining part of the people they always were being exploited and enslaved.

Arising from this there emerged the creation of the popular society. New basis of Socialism, in which disappear all repressing relations, exploitation, repression and domination (50) *a non existence of a strong party to be despotic and exploit facing a weak party who obeys* and is thus exploited.

The Green Book *came with the objective of realising the freedom and happiness of mankind — man cannot be happy unless free — That is man's happiness necessitates his freedom from all oppressive ties.*

In an overall picture we can draw up the basic elements of the new Socialist system upon which the popular society is built — the most important and which are :

1) The economic activity in the Popular society is a productive activity for the purpose of satisfying the needs — Not an unproductive activity — or an activity aiming at realising profit.

2) The freeing of all the basic requirements of the individual from exploitation, despotism and subordination — "Freedom is latent in Need" full meaning that freedom could no exist unless all man's needs are freed from any outside domination.

3) In the Popular Society no one is allowed to *reap from society's wealth* more than what he produces and in proportion sufficient to fullfil his needs.

4) *The theory aims at abolishing the "wage system" and applying the principle of "partners not wage-workers within the productive establishments-following this principle — disappears the oppressing* relationships available in the capitalist and Marxist Systems — The relation of the workers as regard their masters — or their relation with the State.

But following the principle of "partners not wage-workers" the producers are completely freed from the "wage system" and producers become partners in production and not wage-workers.

5) *To destroy exploitation — the popular society aims at hitting at all oppressing relationships leading to the exploitation of man or those having despotic natures.*

6) The third Universal Theory aims at putting an end to the unjust relationship in ownership — if available it should be attacked regardless of the fact of whether the, "owner" is an individual or is the state (51). Springing from this emerged the acknowledgement of the Third Universal Theory of individual's ownership of the means to satisfy his needs such as... housing — transport element — wage, etc...

A special respected ownership — The acknowledgement by the theory of the means of production to the extent of satisfying his personal needs as well as the capacity to maintain its operation without having to depend on others... Finally the theory acknowledged

a third type — The ownership of production means a popular ownership where producers are partners in production.

Finally the popular society is built on the principle... "Arms in the hands of the people", that is the abolishment of traditional military institutions and to replace them by armed people has become a natural process according to the special popular system.

The Third Universal Theory refuses the principle of representation ; even in defending the homeland no one should be a representative of the people in so doing.

All the people are responsible for the defending of freedom and socialist gains.

This is a brief resume of the Popular System as advocated by the Third Universal Theory. This Society represents a high degree of political, economic and social systematisation and the law is the means of this systemisation.

The building of a new society cannot be attained merely by changing the political and economic systems — It is necessary to create new values and concepts paving the way towards a special social and humane evolution based on the Third Universal Theory. An overall effort is a must in order to transform these principles and basis into legal rules and regulations which would become the administrative frame for the popular society in its present and for its future — thus the revolutionary legislations play an important role becoming the element of building tendance for progress — as well as documents in the hands of the people during the operation of destroying the hideous, rotten forces of reactionism, bourgeoisie and capitalist values as well as exploitation which hinders the advance of the revolution in the direction of the erection of the popular society. The Law is the basis of society, the academy of its philosophers and source of justice therein.

And the Great Revolution of the El-Fateh of September which broke out in a society of exploitation and repression, has destroyed the existing reactionary regime and lead to the downfall of its laws — what is destroyed does not erupt again. In no way is it possible to build bridges between the falling laws and revolution and between the new popular society. The law as we know is a production of the mind, changeable in accordance with the changes in the social, political and economic concepts of the society in which is practiced.

The law in all societies derives its source from the entity of that society as well as the fact that it conforms to its circumstances and in general has basic target being the protection of the interests of the majority in society — in primitive societies to preserve the tribe, in the slave society to protect the masters — in the feudal society to protect the interests of nobility (52) in the Marxist System the law is considered as the tool by which the party attains its objectives.

In the Capitalist society the purpose of the law is to support repression, exploitation, as well as to protect capitalist interests.

Wherever the economy is based on class distinction... The law would then become an expression of these relations... thus is the reason why Marxist attacked the principle of legitimacy in the unsocialist protection of a still-born social system (53).

In the popular society, the authority of the people and the socialist system are what explain our adherence to the socialist popular law — the law would be considered as valueless in the popular society, unless it becomes a law that is issued as a result of decisions by popular Congress and Popular will in addition to its being a socialist law because then its role is limited to the enforcement and protection of the Authority of the People as well as the Social System (54). The principle of legitimacy is meaningless as far as the popular Society is concerned except where popular authority and the economy are concerned, where everyone abides by the popular laws which are approved by the popular congress and which certainly shall be in accordance with the interests of the entire society in the sense that they are true expressions of the popular hopes and wishes. If the people have but one objective "The protection of the major interest existing in society. In other words the law is considered as the basis of Society and the reflector of its philosophy".

Article 3 of the document of the proclamation of the "Authority of the People" stipulates : Direct Popular Democracy is the basis of the political system in the Jamahiriya... the law defines the work system for Congresses, committees and unions as well as the dates for their meetings.

The Second Part of *The Green Book* defined the objective of the Popular Society... The objective of the New Socialist Society is the creation of a happy society — achieved by material and spiritual

freedom. This cannot be achieved except by satisfying the material and moral needs of man, by freeing these necessities from control and domination. Satisfying needs should be attained without exploitation or the enslaving of others or else it would conflict with the purpose of the new society.

It also announced — wage-workers however highly paid are still a kind of slaves... The ultimate solution is to abolish the wage system, emancipate man from its bondage...".

It also announced "Man's freedom is lacking if somebody else controls what he needs. For need may result in man's enslavemement of man. Need causes exploitation. Need is an intrinsic problem and conflict grows out of its domination of man's needs.

The document for the proclamation of Popular Authority has been based on the fact that law organises the manner in which people should apply authority — Thus we see that in the Popular Society the law is a matter of fact — when *The Green Book* defined the objective of the new Socialist Society as well as how to attain this objective, it has been but a direct method of defining the role of the law in the Popular Society.

We can now summarise the role of the Popular Law in the following points :

— The Popular Law should undertake the means of organising the supervision over the popular authority a fact which whether Popular Congresses, Popular Committees, unions, professionals, and syndicates. The Popular Law also aims at stabilising and protecting popular authority.

The Popular Law plays a very important role as regards popular establishments... service as well as productive... it demonstrates the way to apply the principle of "partners not wage-workers". As far as the administrative policy is concerned, it also manipulates the activities of the Popular Committees, Producers' meetings, as well as the distribution and production.

The Popular Law also creates the system for contracts and transactions between establishments as well as contracts drawn up between the citizens and these establishments.

The Law plays an important part also in maintaining a just distribution taking in any surplus as well as protecting legal savings.

— The Law also systemises popular ownership as well as private ownership, etc...

— The Popular law is there to protect interests worthy of consideration in the New Social Society, beginning with the higher social welfare aiming at the freedom of man as well as ensuring the entity of the society in which he lives through his protection of the safety of the revolution and of the society. To destroy all unjust relations, protection of lives and public wealth as well as the protection of the basic public needs.

To sum up, the role of the law throughout history was the protection of the major interests in society... in typical communities the law has been and still is a tool in the hand of a class which exploits and subdues the people. In the feudal society the law protected the nobility — in capitalist societies the law lay within the hands of capitalist and rulers. In the Marxist society the law is considered as the docile tool in the hand of the Communist Party.

In the Popular Society it is a tool in the hand of the people — all the people protecting their freedom and political economic and social gains.

The job of the law in the Popular Society is the expression of public will by ensuring its rights protecting its freedom and interests in building the new Socialist Society. A free Society — just and clean. Thus the goal of the law is the protection of the political economic and social gains as well as their reinforcement.

NOTES

(1) See : Emmanuel Kant, The Philosophy of Law and Politics, *by Dr. Abdul Rahman Bagauri, pages 25 onwards.*
(2) Dr. Abdul Fatlal Farrag El Edal, The Origins of Law, *pages 5, onwards.*
(3) See : Dr. Gamil El Sharkauri, Lectures on the origins of the Law, *page 12.*
(4) Dr. Noaman Mohamed Khalie, Lectures in the Entry to Legal Services, *page 5.*
(5) Dr. Salah El Din Abdel Eahab, General Origines of Legal Sciences, The Theory of the Law, *page 28.*
(6) Hamidy Abdul Rahman, The idea of the Law, *page 4, onwards.*
(7) Dr. Said El Sadek, The Legal studies in the U.S.A. and the Arab Republic of Egypt, *page 249.*
(8) Among these European System, from which indirectly and by way of the Egyptian legal system, the ex-royal regime the Lybian Legal System.
(9) See Said El Sadek, previous, ref. page 3.
(10) See : Soliman Morkos, Entry to Legal Services, *page 23.*
(11) See : Hassan Kira, Entry to Law, age 11.
(12) See : Abdel Fattah Baki, The theory of Law, *page 7.*
(13) See : Edward Ghali El Zahaby, The history of Legal and Social Systems, *page 5.*
(14) It is more precise to give it the term codification and not "law" so we say the "Civil Code" instead of "Civil Law", "Maritime Code", instead of "Maritime Law".
(15) See : Naim Attia, The Ties between the Law, *The State and the Individual, page 41, onwards. See also : Said El Sadek,* Previous, *ref. pages 203, onwards.*
(16) See : Dr. Mohamed Ibrahim El Dousouky, The General Theory of the Law and the Truth, *page 5.*
(17) Was referred by Said El Sadek, Previous, *ref. page 196.*
(18) Salah El Din Abdel Wahab, Previous, *ref. page 33.*
(19) The first anouncement by the Revolutionary Council. The declaration of the "Breaking out of the Revolution".
(20) See : Tewfik Farrag, General Entry to Legal Sciences, *page 10.*
(21) See : Naim Attia, Previous, *ref. page 191.*
(22) See : Naim Attia, Previous, *ref. page 191.*
(23) See : Abdul Rahman Badaur, Previous, *ref. pages 27, onwards.*
(24) See : Naim Attia, Previous, *ref. page 185.*
(25) Among these capitalist law in our civil code issued on 28th November 1953. Most of the provisions of this law have been taken from the Egyptian Code which in turn was taken from the Code Napoleon which has been issued in the year 1804.
(26) Saint Thomas Aquinus defines the general welfare by saying : "The general Welfare is the good towards which Society aims and which obviously transgresses individual interests as it is not only a representation of the combination of these interests but in addition represents the interests of the community. General welfare supersedes personal interests and necessitates the subduence and conformity of these interests to him. In his refusal to abolish the individuality of the human being just because of their belonging to society. As long as their personal interests are in accordance with the general welfare they therefore are in accordance". This definition was refered to by Robier in his "General Theory of the Law", *pages 98 and 99.*
(27) See : Jamil El Skarkawi, Previous, *ref. page 78.*
(28) As an example see : Gunot, The principle of the Domination of the will in the Private Law, *A thesis for a doctoral, University of Dion, 1912.*
(29) See Dr. Abdul Moneim Farraf El Saadda, Previous, *ref. page 33.*

(30) Muammar Al Kathafi, The Green Book, *chapter 2. The Solution of the Economic Problem, "Socialism", The official Gazette-issue, n. 7, dated 32st May, 1979, page 281.*
(31) Muammar Al Kathafi, Previous, *ref. page 278.*
(32) Muammar Al Kathafi, Previous, *ref. page 278.*
(33) See Hassan Kira, Previous fer., *page 173.*
(34) See Gamal El Banna, Previous fer., *pages 90, onwards.*
(35) See "Soviet Law and Society", *by George S. Gunther, page 88. This has been referred to by Gamal El Banna,* Previous fer, *page 98.*
(36) André Valssan, "Revolution and Law", *page 82.*
(37) Gamal El Banna, Previous ref., *page 99.*
(38) See Dr. El Medany Aly El Sadik, A research entitled, Introducing the Populist System.
(39) See : Dr. El Medany el Sedik, A research entitled The Law and the Constitution in the contemporary political philosophy and in The Green Book.
(40) The thinker Alexis de Toueville said nearly a century ago "To try to stand in the face of democracy is like trying to fight against the "machine"...
(41) Colonel Muammar Al Kathafi, Part I, The Green Book, *page 48.*
(42) See Dr. Farahat Sharnana, a research entitled, Socialism.
(43) See Dr. Farahat Sharnana, a research entitled, The need for the new socialist Popular System.
(44) See : what has been previously stated about the Individualistic System.
(45) See : Dr. Mohamed Moustafa Soleiman, a research entitled, Legislation and Society Legislation in the Third Universal Theory, *Another reading of* The Green Book.
(46) See : Dr. Mohamed Moustafa Soleiman, Previous research.
(47) See : Dr. Farahat Shainana, a research entitled Socialism.
(4) Dr. Thaiwat El Arsiouty, Principals of the Law, *pages 86 et 87.*
(49) See : Dr. Mohamed Asfour, The domination of the Law, *pages 21, onwards.*
(50) See : Dr. Mohab Naga, a research entitled, Drama in the revolution any populist society.

The Principles of Communication in the Jamahiriya System

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1. THE BASIS OF COMMUNICATION IN JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY

A. THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS

The problem of communication has always been associated with the problem of freedom, this was the situation ever since communication was still in its primitive form as represented by the printed press. It was normal that this problem should become more critical with the appearance of modern means of mass communication. This is why the problem of communication did not appear as an independent problem, even though attention was given some times to the economic aspects of communication, and to its political aspects some other times, or occasionally to its legal and social aspects.

The reason for all this was the many and varied aspects of communication and its relationship to various aspects of life, which led to a loss of the comprehensive vision of communication in the context of modern social life, in addition to increased attention being devoted to the external aspects of the basic problems related to communication, in the belief that these aspects were actually independent and separate problems. This resulted in a number of measures designed to eliminate anything negative in these aspects. The most important of these measures is perhaps legislation related to what has been called crimes of publicity, and the principles of justice and equality as regards equal time being given to the expression of differing points of views in the means of mass communication, the establishment of press councils, laws governing the principles of commercial advertising, and regulations related to the principles governing all communication activities. Nevertheless, for reasons which will be given below, and in spite of the long time that has elapsed since the establishment of such reformative measures, the problem of communications has not only remained unsolved but has become more critical in certain areas, to an extent that requires a radical review of the entire problem.

The problem of freedom of communication, like the problems of political freedom, or economic, cultural or educational freedom, is simply one of the numerous problems of freedom in general. Freedom

cannot be achieved so long as there is someone in a position to grant freedom or to withhold it, and it is therefore simplistic to believe that it is possible to deal with the question of freedom through constitutional texts or by means of various administrative decisions or measures. Freedom is comprehensive by nature, and a man is either free or otherwise. It is therefore illogical to consider the question of freedom on the assumption that it is composed of a group of issues, and that it is possible to achieve freedom in some of these issues but not in others. If this were indeed the case, how would it be possible to achieve freedom in communication ? In what manner did the ideological theories that preceded the Third Universal Theory consider the question of freedom of communication ?

Although the ideological heritage of both liberalism and Marxism did not include the question of communication in their basic premises, the question received some attention in the course of discussion of other related topics. The liberals, who based their political system on the principle of the separation of the three traditional authorities : the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, assumed that this separation of authority would permit the establishment of a balance, by depriving each of them of the opportunity to monopolize authority. With technological advances in the field of modern mass communications, the role of the mass media became increasingly important, to the extent that the media came to be known as the fourth estate, the function of which was to monitor the activities of the other authorities, to investigate them and to criticize them. From the economic point of view, communication is a commercial enterprise in which newspapers and recorded programmes and other means of communication are commodities subject to the rules of supply and demand. The supporters of this principle considered that the existence of a large number of various points of view was essential for the formation of an enlightened public opinion. However, observation of the actual results of these concepts, the most important of which were economic monopolization (through the large media companies), political monopolization (through the large political parties), and the domination by advertisers and financiers of the various means of mass communication, in addition to domination by the traditional authorities, brings us to the conclusion that these concepts are more practical than

ideological, and that their motive is actually to justify the status of communication in the light of prevailing liberal principles.

The Marxists find it impossible to talk about freedom so long as the materialist principle remains unchanged, embodied in the forces of production and in production relations. What guarantee is there then for freedom of communication, for freedom of expression ? While a student of existing Marxist systems will discover that there are constitutional texts which confirm the existence of certain rights and liberties such as the freedom of the press, the basic Marxist ideology rejects the idea of law and also rejects the idea of rights, considering that recognition of the existence of certain rights would mean a basic inequality, it also considers that democracy means the achievement of complete material equality. If this were achieved, along the lines of the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs", democracy itself would no longer be necessary. This latter conclusion is based upon a consideration of democracy as requiring the existence of a state based on certain procedures which are applied through its various organs and agencies. As the state is contradictory to the concept of freedom as seen by Engels, the elimination of the state and the elimination of democracy are two basic requirements in the Marxist ideology, for the sake of the establishment of a classless society in which complete material equality would be achieved. The main themes of the Marxist ideology may be summarized as follows : that the material factor is the basis of movement of society, that the state is a reflection of materialism in its various stages of development, that the state is contradictory to freedom, and that talk about rights indicates a basic inequality, that the solution is to create a classless society in which the state is eliminated.

While The Green Book looks upon the state as a non-social entity (as opposed to the family, the tribe and the nation) and describes it as an litical, economic and occasionally military system unrelated to humanity, it does not consider, as it appears from the above, that the state is a mere result or reflection of material reality. It does not therefore consider the state as such as being a problem requiring a solution or elimination ; The Green Book affirms the need for the maintenance of harmony between the political entity and the social entity, as any conflict between the two would ultimately lead to the

destruction of the political system by the social factor. The area of concentration should therefore be the social, political, economic, cultural, educational and communication relationship, and other relationships. Inequality of the basis of these relationships would necessarily lead to a situation in which the stronger sector of society would dominate the others, which means briefly that the sources of material and moral power should be transferred to the masses of the people, so that the masses would monopolize authority, wealth and arms, through which a democracy of education, communication, culture and knowledge would be achieved. Therefore, freedom of communication cannot be achieved so long as the authority to make decisions resides in the hands of a ruler, government or council, or so long as the ownership of the means of communication remains in the hands of a person, a class or a government. As the means of rule is the prime political problem facing human communities, freedom of communication is basically connected with the problem of democracy.

It is impossible to conceive the existence of free communication in the absence of authority by the masses, if authority is monopolized by an individual, a class, a family, a tribe, a political party or any other such tool of dictatorial rule. The basic guarantee of freedom is therefore the sovereign masses of the people, the masses that make their decisions through their people's congresses, the masses which have the authority, which legislate, and which create their people's committees which are entrusted with the implementation of their decisions. Because of this, a society of the masses under the aegis of direct authority by the people does not create establishments that monopolize authority (whether these authorities be of a complementary nature as in the Marxist system, or whether they are of a competitive nature as in the Western systems), which would make decisions for the society or create conditions and guarantees for the practice of authority and the achievement of democracy, nor would the economic, educational, cultural or communication issues or any other issues be entrusted to government organizations or to non-governmental institutions, for it is the masses who have the right to decide as regards all these questions through their popular congresses and people's committees.

The Green Book asserts that freedom of expression cannot be considered as a partial issue embodied in the freedom of speech against all forms of interference imposed by governments, political parties or financiers. It is fundamentally related to the decision-making authority, for of what use would be freedom of expression (against any external source regardless of its nature) if such expression were merely to relieve the oppression suffered by the masses, while the decision-making authority remains as a tool of dictatorial rule. This is why The Green Book has asserted that there should not be any authority outside that of society. Democracy, as defined by The Green Book, is the supervision of the people by the people. The Green Book also states that democracy is rule by the people and is not a popular expression.

It can be concluded from all this that the question of the cessation of the existence of the state or its continued presence is important only in the case of the domination of the state as regards questions of concern to the masses, and in the event that the existing institutions in society are instruments related to the interests, rights, liberties and needs of the masses. The state as thus described is not merely a general entity called a state and with the personality of a state, it is an entity embodied in a number of agencies, government organizations, institutions of authority, political parties and classes, and in such a situation the masses are in a weak position as regards the state.

This is why it is difficult in the traditional systems in both the East and the West to differentiate between the state and the government or between the state and the party or between the state and the dominant class, and so on. It is natural that such a situation would cause the state to appear as being the net cumulative sum of the existing authorities in power in society. This is why one hears, in the traditional systems, of a bourgeois state or of a proletarian state as an instrument of democracy. This is the true essence of the traditional systems : that the state institutions (regardless of their form) replace the people in the decision-making process. In the Jamahiriya system on the other hand, the people are the instrument of democracy and its shapers, and no institution can replace the people or represent them in the practice of democracy. Authority is in the hands of the masses of the people through their popular congresses and people's committees. There are

no political parties or classes or institutions of power which dominate the will of the masses ; that is why any talk of elimination of the state or of its continued existence is totally irrelevant in the Jamahiriya system, there being absolutely no justification for proposing this issue.

B. THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASIS

The basic principle of the Jamahiriya society is that all matters should be in the hands of the people. This of course means that communication should be communication by the people, owned, planned and administered by the people. This requires the existence of a popular organisational structure which would ensure that popular expression is not distorted, and which would also ensure that freedom of expression would not degenerate into chaos. As the traditional instruments of authority in governments, political parties, classes and other such instruments of dictatorial rule dwindle and disappear in the face of the advance of the Jamahiriya society, the organizational structure of communication in the Jamahiriya society stems from the popular structure represented by the popular congresses and people's committees which are the foundation of the authority of the people and its organizational framework in the Jamahiriya society.

This means that the organizational structure of communication is based upon the same foundations as those of the Jamahiriya system in its entirety, embodied in the popular congresses and people's committees. There are basically two types of congresses. The basic popular congresses and the vocational popular congresses. Members of the vocational popular congresses are also members of the basic popular congresses. As the popular congresses are the instrument of authority by the masses, the basic popular congresses are responsible for making decisions regarding communication, as is the case with other sectors as well. The basic popular congresses decide on the budget allocated to communication, and it is they who plan it. The vocational popular congresses are responsible for decisions related to specialized newspapers, radio programmes and the other information and communication activities.

The vocational popular congresses also establish the communication concepts connected with the profession, for submission to the basic popular congresses.

With regard to this organisational aspect, The Green Book says that democratic journalism is that produced by a people's committee that represents all the categories of society, and asserts that it is only in this case that the press or any other means of communication or information is truly representative of society as a whole, expressing the views of its various categories.

The professional structure of the means of communication and information is based on the fact that it is the professionals themselves who are the most aware of the questions and issues involved, and it is they who have the necessary knowledge and ability to create a specialised and effective communication system, particularly as Jamahiriya society represented by its popular congresses and people's committees does not by its nature permit the existence of any divisions based on political parties, on classes, on tribalism, or on religion. In addition to this professional type of communication, there is another form of communication which is not related to a particular professional category, but which is concerned with the guidance of soci ety as a whole. The administration of this branch of communication is in the hands of the people's committees, which are composed of the va. are also the responsibility of the basic popular congresses, which take all decisions regarding planning and legislation connected with the policy of society in all domains, which are then implemented by the people's committees.

Ownership by society of the means of communication, the responsibility of the basic popular congresses for planning communication, and the creation of a people's committee for communication composed of professional categories of society are all sufficient to ensure that communication is a forum for social expression by all the professional categories of society.

The professional status of communication in Jamahiriya society is fundamentally related to two factors :

1. The nature of communication ; it does not come under the services sector, which includes for example, health, agriculture and housing, it

is an abstract domain related to freedom of expression by individuals, groups and the broad masses in their entirety.
2. The nature of the popular congresses which are an expression of rule by the people. The popular congresses have no need to merely express their views as regards specific issues, for they are the instruments of direct authority in the decision-making process, but they are not executive instruments or administrative agencies responsible for issuing information or communication material in its various forms. Furthermore, the mass popular nature of communication requires that the communication information profession must not be monopolized by a specific professional category. This is why in Jamahiriya society there are no professional organizations of journalists or of others in the field of communication and information, nor should they exist, for the right of communication and expression must be guaranteed to all the individuals who compose society and to all its categories. The technicians, administrators and other personnel in the communication sectors come under the supervision of the people's committee for communication which is chosen by the professional categories of society. In the performance of their functions, they perform a public service, and it is the duty of society to provide them with their requirements in return for their performance of this function.

The Green Book states that democratic communication is that which is administered by a people's committee composed of all the various categories of society, but it does not deal with the details of the administrative and organisational structure of this committee. However, on the basis of the existing popular organisational framework in the Jamahiriya, it would be possible to have local people's committees for communication, established by the relevant vocational popular congresses. There would thus be people's committees for communication created by the vocational popular congresses in the various districts, whereby each district would have a general people's committee for communication composed of all the professional categories, and these district people's committees for communication would form a general people's committee for communication at Jamahiriya level.

In brief, Jamahiriya society is not a society based on monopolisation of any instruments of a social nature, regardless of the source of this

monopoly or of its objectives. Neither individuals nor institutions have the right to monopolize any means or instruments of a social nature, including means of communication and information. It would be impossible, under the guise of elevating the masses to a position of responsibility, or for the sake of achieving social change, or under any such slogan, to deprive the masses of the freedom of determination and the right of expression.

This is why Jamahiriya society considers it necessary to have numerous fora of social expression. The question is : how can there be a large number of fora in a society in which authority, wealth and arms are in the hands of the masses ? The question here is obviously one of social expression, not of personal expression, as this latter form of expression is left to the individual who is free to express himself in his own way, no matter what it may be.

In a society where the masses are organized into people's congresses, and which possesses its wealth, arms, means of education, communication and culture, there is no room for any other structure that would be in conflict with the nature of this society. Political parties or sectarian institutions or elected bodies and such like are all institutions that are basically in contradiction with the situation in the Jamahiriya, which leaves the professional institutions (the federations, trade unions and professional associations) as the only framework which is in harmony with the masses of the people.

2. THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNICATION IN JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY

It is of course possible to deduce the basic characteristics of communication in the Jamahiriya through a study of the basic ideology in its comprehensive form. Although Chapter I of The Green Book establishes a relation between communication and democracy, considering that communication is one of the issues of democracy, we must cast an analytical glance at the Jamahiriya society in order to better understand the characteristics of communication in that society. This involves the political, economic and social aspects, on the understanding that any separation of these various aspects is merely

for analytical purposes. As there are certain questions in the domain of communication which are considered by some as accepted facts, it would perhaps be opportune to touch upon the traditional characteristics of communication which are not in harmony with the nature and objectives of Jamahiriya society.

A. COMMUNICATION IS NOT AN INSTRUMENT OF DEMOCRACY

When democracy first appeared in ancient Greece, the means of communication available to us today did not exist. Individuals who attended and took part to various discussions were themselves the instrument and objectives of democracy. With the appearance of Western parliamentary democracy, the individual was no longer an instrument of democracy, as this role was taken by elected parliamentary bodies, on the assumption that these bodies were representative of the overall will of the people. In addition to these parliamentary bodies, a number of executive and legislative institutions were established. Communication, which became increasingly important and played an increasingly vital role with the advance of technology, was considered by the Western systems as an instrument of parliamentary democracy, because it represented the channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled. It was also the means whereby candidates could reach the electorate, in addition to the media being an important instrument in establishing a mutual control or supervision by the various legislative, executive and judicial authorities, as well as a means for the supervision of all the institutions of the state by the people.

This situation was so attractive as to lead many people in these systems to consider the communication information media as a fourth estate. A former American president, Thomas Jefferson, considered that the press could replace the government and its numerous agencies as a means of government. He once said that if he had to choose between a government without press or a press without government, he would make the second choice without any hesitation.

Thomas Jefferson said this at a time when the newspaper industry had developed to a great extent, but he might have thought differently

had he witnessed the subsequent technological developments in the field of journalism and the other means of mass communication.

However, regardless of whether communication is indeed a fourth estate alongside the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, or whether it is an alternative to these authorities, what matters in the final analysis is that the masses which are concerned first and foremost with all these authorities have been kept apart from them. The existence of numerous institutions of authority simply reflects this fact, for there can only be one authority if it is in the hands of the masses of the people. If authority is not in the hands of the masses, the result is often a rivalry or competition between the various institutions of authority, with the balance of power shifting from one to the other in accordance with changing situations or with the respective ability of the various institutions to assert themselves.

The most glaring example of this pattern of authority is in the United States of America, where the chief executive can belong to a political party other than the one that holds the majority in Congress. There is also another type of relationship between the various instruments of authority, by which I mean the comprehensive authority which is subject to a single instrument at the summit of the pyramid of authority.

This instrument may be a king or a ruling political party or a ruling class or some such similar institution, in which one element of authority dominates the others.

In these systems which permit competitive authority, the communication media also find themselves in a competitive position. This is the reason why communication may have the appearance of being a free agent reflecting various points of view and opinions. In this case communication would be what the old liberals thought of as a free market of ideas, although this free market of ideas, if it ever existed, would rapidly turn into a monopoly, because of the impossibility of the existence of economic, social and political equality in a liberal society. This free market of ideas would be at the mercy of the powerful, and this is what has happened throughout history in those systems where authority is competitive. Economic competition leads to monopoly which in turn leads to political competition and from there proceeds to a monopolization of politics by the large and powerful political parties. All of this removes the individual from the decision-making process,

and he is confronted by limited political programmes presented by the parties. All that the individual can do in this case is to either accept or reject these programmes, and the result is the same in either case, as he is incapable of having a say in the implementation of these programmes if he accepts them, and is equally unable to prevent their implementation if he rejects them.

It is the political parties (or rather the leadership of these parties) that have the capability of implementing their programmes as they please if they are successful, and they are also able to express their "legal" opposition to the programmes of rival political parties if they fail to be elected.

In the comprehensive systems, there is no monopolisation of politics, the economy or communication, as is the case in the competitive systems. This monopolization is evident in various dictatorships throughout history, but the new form taken by this type of authority is represented by the modern one-party system. This does not mean to say that the multi-party system is any better, as both these systems into direct authority into the hands of the people through popular congresses and people's committees.

Communication in the comprehensive authority system is an obedient instrument in the hands of those who sit at the top of the pyramid of authority, and so communication and information in this case run parallel to the other instruments of authority.

In this situation, it is the party that decides (on the basis of a particular ideology or through its programmes of action). Communication in this system is transformed from a storehouse of varied opinions to a specialized warehouse selling a single commodity which is unchanged regardless of the many forms it might take. This does not mean to say that if communication were to be free of the restrictions of a monopoly based on competing interests or even on a single one, that it could become a popular decision-making instrument. The primary reason for this is that communication in any monopolistic framework can only be monopolistic itself, and even if one were to suppose the possibility of liberating communication from such restrictions, it cannot be an alternative to the masses of the people, which cannot be content with merely expressing their hopes or aspirations, but must be able to shape them themselves through their popular congresses and executive people's committees.

B. COMMUNICATION IS NOT A COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE

The Green Book divides economic activity by individuals in Jamahiriya society into three categories : a man either works to satisfy his material needs, or he works for a socialist enterprise without being a partner in its production, or else he performs a public service and society provides him with his material needs.

If we consider communication activity in the light of the above categories, and in the light of the statement that the press is a means of expression by society but not a means of expression for an individual, then logically and democratically it should not be owned by either.

If we consider communication activity in this light, we perceive that social expression cannot be a field of activity for an individual or a group of individuals who wish to satisfy their material needs. Inasmuch as authority or the possession of wealth or arms cannot be delegated, so also is it impossible to delegate social expression to an individual or a group of individuals on behalf of society.

Furthermore, communication activity is not productive in the true sense of the word, although it has given birth to a material or semi-material product as represented by newspapers, various publications and recorded programmes. As these are commodities that can be marketed in return for material or other profit, and in view of the fact that there exists a category of workers employed by the presses, many people have come to look upon communication activity as an economic activity, identical to other productive establishments. Financiers and large companies in the capitalist world have exploited this situation, and have considered newspapers, publications, recorded programmes and air time as commodities subject to the principle of capitalist competition. As communication activity is very expensive, with costs of producing a newspaper or a programme exceeding by far the price at which it could be sold as a normal commodity on the market, the capitalist world turned to commercial advertising, as a means not only of making up any losses as a result of selling the communication or information material at less than cost price, but also for material and perhaps even moral gain. As a result of this, the communication media in the capitalist world are no longer a

means for the expression of the opinion of the editors or directors, but have become a mouthpiece for their owners, or more often of their financial backers, that is to say the advertisers who are in a position to control the message transmitted by the media, by using commercial advertisements as a weapon.

A Western commentator remarked that most of the Western newspapers were founded by people who had something to say, and ended up with people who had something to sell.

If we consider the possibility of giving an economic aspect to communication activity in a socialist society, we realise that this would be impossible, due to high costs, unless the society were to apply certain economic principles of capitalist communication, mainly advertising. In the absence of capitalist domination, advertising would be transferred to socialist institutions and establishments, but even in this case the source of domination is merely transferred from capitalists, individuals or establishments to other institutions which may not have the same effect on the right and liberty of social expression. This means that equating communication activity with productive activities necessarily leads to making communication into an instrument which is controlled at least by a sector of the individuals employed in the means of communication, in such a way that it would be impossible to consider the communication media as instruments of expression by society, no matter what legislative or legal controls may be applied. One area in the field of communication which resembles productive work on the surface is the printing sector which employs a relatively large number of workers, although this situation is on its way to elimination as a result of the tremendous technological progress that has taken place recently, which has made it possible to greatly reduce the number of technicians and workers needed to produce publications, which will make it possible for the transfer of large numbers to true productive activities. What then is the solution ? It is, as asserted in The Green Book, that the means of social expression be owned by society. This is inevitable in the case of Jamahiriya society in which all instruments of political and economic domination are eliminated, and so long as the popular congresses are the sole popular instrument for making decisions the popular congresses are responsible for questions related to budgetary allocations to the various sectors of society,

including communication. The various professional federations and unions also have their financial allocations which they use to finance their specialised communication activities. In this way, individuals who work in the communication sector are performing a public service for society, and in return society provides them with their material needs, while the right of social expression is guaranteed to all members of society. To look upon the service sectors in society as being economic sectors is residual thinking of a capitalist nature which created the commercial concept of communication, education, transport, health and others. Even education in the capitalist systems has been transformed into commercial enterprises, also subject to the rules of supply and demand and capitalist competition.

C. FREE COMMUNICATION EXISTS ONLY IN A FREE SOCIETY

The Green Book considers that the authority of the people is the only legal authority, and that any other authority works against the masses, whether it be the authority of an individual, a political party, a tribe, a council or any other such system. Freedom can only be achieved if individuals are free, and freedom must be indivisible. An individual is either free or otherwise which refutes the idea of an individual giving up some of his freedom in return for a guarantee of this freedom (the idea of the social contract).

In the liberal and Marxist systems, means of communication become an instrument of authority, regardless of the type of party system. Communication thereby becomes an instrument deprived of freedom by the sector that owns it, whether it be private or government.

In systems other than those where authority is in the hands of the people, if there is a conflict between the political system and the communication system (a situation which political systems usually strive to avoid), the result is a struggle between the two which must end either with a change in the political system to bring it into line with the communication system, which is unrealistic, or that the communication system be changed to conform with the political system, which is usually what happens. There can therefore be no popular socialist

communication without the existence of political, economic and social freedom, because free communication can only exist in a free society. As The Green Book says, the problem of the freedom of the press which is still a matter of conflict throughout the world, is part of the over-all problem of democracy, and it cannot be solved until the crisis of democracy itself is solved.

Communication in both the East and the West is not free because it is not owned by society, and therefore does not express the opinion of society. In the countries of the western capitalist world the communication media are owned by individuals and shareholding companies. Even if these media are free to criticize the ruling political system, they are not free to criticize the owner of a communication establishment. In the Marxist countries, although communication is not privately owned, it is subject to the influence of the party which only represents a small percentage of the people (9 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union). The communication media there are owned by the state, which provides them with all their basic production requirements, such as paper, ink, printing presses, developing laboratories, and so on.

All this proves that the claims of both the Western and Eastern countries that communication is an instrument that contributes to democracy, whether it be a multi-party democracy or a one-party democracy, the truth is that communication cannot solve the problem of democracy, but solution of the problem of democracy would also solve the problem of freedom of communication. Any attempt to achieve freedom of communication under any system other than that in which authority is in the hands of the people is a fallacy and a falsehood aimed at giving the right of expression and withholding the right of direct rule, thereby denying freedom, in such a way that society would appear on the surface to be free as some of its members have access to a means of expression. The truth is that such access to expression is restricted to mere words unaccompanied by effective action which would direct the course of events in accordance with the true will of the people.

3. THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN JAMAHIRIYA SOCIETY

The role of communication in Jamahiriya society is conditional upon the social integrity of society. The following discussion of the role and function of communication in Jamahiriya society assumes the existence of the political, economic and social bases of that society.

A. COMMUNICATION AS A MEANS OF EXPRESSION FOR SOCIETY

"If only one bell is rung, then only one sound is heard". This expresses the traditional monopolistic thought of those who think that this is the way to get the undivided attention of the masses, and then eventually to win their hearts. Monopoly is ancient, with roots that go far back into the history of despotism, as practised by various instruments of dictatorial rule. In modern times, modern political, economic and social systems have created new forms of monopoly. There have even been constitutions that gave an aspect of legality to monopolization, and under cover of the impressive language of these constitutions legislation has been promulgated making a crime any act which may displease the authority in power. Among these legislations were laws governing communication media, which set down conditions for the establishment of communication information enterprises. These laws also regulated the practice of communication activities, and established a list of prohibited topics not to be dealt with by the media, as well as laws against slander and denigration, not to mention the various codes of conduct in the press, and regulations governing the renewal of licences of newspapers and radio stations.

These problems exist because they are based on the following assumptions :

(a) The expression of issues of interest to society is in the hands of a few individuals who are materially able to establish communication enterprises, or those with the proper legal and constitutional qualifications.

(b) The criterion of what is right and what is wrong is dictated by the constitution and the legislation established by the instruments of authority.

(c) Control of expression (the idea of one bell) can be achieved through control of licensing, or through the pre-establishment of a censorship by the ruling authority, or through post factum censorship involving punishment for the expression of any unauthorized views, or simply by monopolising the ownership of the means of communication, either by the capitalist class or by the government.

The communication systems which we see today under the various traditional systems conform perfectly with the prevailing political, economic and social power structures. Monopolisation of the communication information media in the traditional systems runs parallel to political monopoly which exists under the one-party or multi-party system. It also runs parallel to economic monopoly which exists under the aegis of ownership by the state or by capitalist companies, in a form once described by a former American Vice-President (Spiro Agnew) when he talked about the gradual concentration of the communication information media, as opinion forming institutions, moving gradually into fewer and fewer hands.

Under the Jamahiriya society, the traditional power structure would be eliminated to be replaced by the authority of the people. Economic monopolies would also be eliminated to be replaced by ownership by all the people of all the wealth, and similarly the arms monopoly would end and the arms would be in the hands of the people. As a result of this, there would be no authority other than the masses monopolizing communication politically, economically or militarily. This would mean the achievement of democracy in the economic, social and political sense, through monopolisation by the masses of the people of all these elements. It is only in such a situation that there can be any talk of communication as a means of social expression. There would be no particular individual or body dominating the means of communication and information, all that is required is the existence of a popular organization to prevent the degeneration of public expression into chaos. This topic has already been dealt with under the organisational basis of communication in Jamahiriya society.

B. COMMUNICATION IS A REVOLUTIONARY TOOL FOR CHANGE AND FOR PROGRESS

The role of communication as a means to bring about change and to achieve progress is related with the ideological concept of the process of change itself. As most of the theories of change pre-dated modern means of communication, most of these theories ignored communication as a potentially important element in the process of progressing from one situation to another more advanced one. Another problem related to the role of communication in revolutionary change is that most theories dealing with the matter adopt a descriptive historical approach. Should a developing country, for example, wish to achieve development on the basis of the various theories of change, and through using modern communication information media which were not available to the newly industrialised states in the early stages of their renaissance, the result would be an under-utilization of these elements or their total neglect.

The basic problem in the process of change arises when a traditional society duplicates itself under a new mantle, giving the outside appearance of change, while inwardly remaining unchanged. This is precisely what occurs when change in a society is confined to the exchange of one dictatorial system for another. Change does not mean exchanging the capitalism of the capitalists for state capitalism, or for one political party to replace another, or for the abolition of a particular class only to have it replaced by another dictatorial class.

The falsehood of these traditional practices cannot be applied to the masses. The only solution for systems that dominate the masses is for them to create ideological justifications to convince the masses that the situation is only temporary or transitory, and that it will end when the situation develops. However, the issue is not one of creating a justification for the establishment of the authority of the state, government or party or of a coalition of parties, the important thing is that the masses of the people are the only true direct alternative to any of these forms of authority.

Talk of objective conditions or of stages of development is the common language of systems which follow liberal or Marxist ideology. The only difference between them is that Marxism concentrates on

material and social relations, while asserting that such change takes place over various stages in a dialectical manner. Marx said that society cannot in one leap achieve all the stages of its natural development nor can they be abolished by decree. Liberal ideologists have expressed the idea of phased development in various ways. Regardless of how these various thinkers expressed their ideas, the basic issue remains the same. It is the need for the existence of stages of development and change, and at the end of these stages or phases change will take place regardless of who causes it, just as when a fruit is ripe it is ready for picking regardless of who picks it.

This line of thought imposes a certain amount of fatalism on the human will, for all that man can do is to follow these various stages, or at best to attempt to reduce the time between any two stages. If he were to attempt to begin one stage before another, his efforts would certainly be doomed to failure, as he would then have broken the "laws" of development.

This sort of fatalism is found to a certain extent in the writings of philosophical historians, who see human civilization as being similar to a creature that is born then grows and develops and is at its strongest during its youth, gradually deteriorating into old age and finally dying. In this they are actually engraving "laws" for future development on the walls of the past, of which only a few remain by virtue of certain circumstances.

Regardless of the source of such comparisons, and whether they are founded on logical or historical analysis or otherwise, the development of communication in the light of the concept of phased development is conditional upon objectivity, which must appear during one of these phases. Society should therefore be aware of the suitable phase for the development of communication, and it should avoid preceding this phase, failing which communication might be born prematurely, nor should society by-pass this phase and so lose the opportunity of making use of the tremendous power of communication and information.

Unfortunately matters are not so simple. The system of development by stages requires that communication adopt a new guise during every stage in order to conform with it. Therefore, the function of communication is not decided by society, but rather by the nature of

the objective phase through which society is passing at the time. This is true in cases where the process of change takes a linear form, starting from a certain point and moving through certain stages to reach another point, without returning to the original point.

However, if the phases of development follow a circular pattern whereby society rises from a period of depression to reach the heights of civilisation then to collapse once again into depression, this means that use of communication information media during the period of renaissance would be unimportant, as society would be awakening in any case. All that communication would be able to do in this case would be to shorten the time necessary for this awakening. During a phase of decline or collapse, the use of the communication information media in an attempt to develop the individual or society could best be described as being similar to someone rowing against the tide, as such efforts would be doomed to failure if society is already on the decline.

One of the features of this concept of phases of development is the old-new refrain that says that the requirements of development must come above any other consideration, and that the masses should simply bow their heads and forget about democracy and all their rights as regards authority, wealth and arms, until such a time as the development of the society would be achieved. It is under this sort of slogan that the most despotic dictatorships are born in the developing countries today. As a result of this process, democracy becomes a mere illusory objective dangled before the eyes of the masses of the people who are deprived of the right to select the road which they desire towards development.

The only alternative to this disgraceful situation is that authority by the people should replace all the dictatorial instruments of rule, so that the people may freely shape their own development, and achieve progress for themselves by themselves.

The freedom and welfare of the masses cannot be conditional upon any chain of objective stages or conditions. Such freedom and welfare should not be the subject of dreams presented by a particular category or political party or ruling class or tribe to the masses, for the masses, through action and awareness, can achieve this immediately without going through the various phases. The masses of the people can rebel against any dictatorial authority, to establish its popular congresses

and select its executive people's committees, and from there to regain its wealth and its arms and the sources of its strength in their entirety, thus eliminating the instruments of dictatorial rule and obsolete class structures. Communication, as a moral force, (and as a material force also) owned by the masses can indeed play an effective role in exposing despotism and other forms of exploitation, to enable the masses to destroy them. It is a channel of mass expression, a reflection of freedom, welfare, justice and equality among the members of society, lighting the way for the other peoples of the world and indicating to them that release from the ages of oppression and despotism is at hand, and that the era of the masses is with us.

C. COMMUNICATION IS A MEANS TO ACHIEVE CULTURE AND KNOWLEDGE FOR THE MASSES

One of the most serious internal stumbling blocks that face radical change is the residual effects of traditional culture, and the patterns of monopolistic knowledge. The matter is made even more serious by the devotion of traditional communication to these situations, reflecting the various political, economic and social concepts that are directly related to the power or powers that are dominant in the society.

Any mention of the existence of a cultural revolution in a society other than that of the masses would be most fallacious, because all that really happens is that a culture of a certain hue is exchanged for another of the same nature, and so one cultural dictatorship is exchanged for another. The form of culture propagated by the means of communication, information and education in various societies is that of the dominant party or parties in a particular society, regardless of whether these parties be capitalist classes, political parties or any other institution or establishment.

The extent of this problem is even more apparent if there are certain minorities in the society, who as a result of their restricted political and economic role are in a position of subjection which prevents them from developing their economic potential. These minorities cannot find a solution to their problems in the framework of systems based on parliamentary elections, regardless of the number of parties that may

exist, nor can their problems be solved by a liberal economy or by a state economy. The form of society expressed by the Jamahiriya in therefore the only one that can absorb minorities in such a way as to permit the members of these minorities to participate in the decision-making process in the popular congresses, where all opinions and points of view are treated equally, and in which there is no majority or minority, as decisions are made in the light of all the opinions expressed by all the members of the congress.

There was a certain theory in American society which originated in the belief that there were opinion leaders who were more able and more committed than others. They were in a position to permit information to pass through them to others or to prevent it from doing so, in such a way that they were able to control the types of decisions taken. However, this is not the full picture ; political parties, governments and various institutions and establishments (including the communication information media) are guardians of the gates of information, knowledge and culture and are in control of what is presented to the masses of the people.

The result of all of this is a preservation of the status quo and an obstruction of the social change and of other non-social changes. The capitalist media cannot possibly serve socialist interests, means of communication that are in party or government hands cannot of course serve the interests of the masses, because self-determination by the masses of the people simply eliminates all forms of party or government guidance.

This sort of situation explains government domination of the communication media in systems which pretend to be liberal and far removed from government intervention. In American society, gover-nment agencies are a major source of news. An American researcher found that more than 53 per cent of the major news items published by the New York Times and the Washington Post had as its source press conferences given by government authorities and press releases issued by government offices.

In addition to this, there is the "legal" control practised by the United States Government, whereby it can grant or withhold the licences of radio stations, which have to be renewed every three years by the Federal Communications Commission, which is composed of seven

members appointed by the President of the United States, with the approval of Congress. The domination by parties or by coalitions of parties and by governments of information that reaches the masses through the media in other systems is very obvious and needs no explanation. These systems give a stamp of "legality" to party or government domination.

In Jamahiriya society, the only acceptable legality is that of the masses of the people. There is no justification for the imposition of a political or economic hegemony on the masses of the people. This is the reason why cultural hegemony must be destroyed as well as other forms of monopolisation of knowledge, because both culture and knowledge are a natural right for every individual. Achievement of democracy in education would be integrated with communication in Jamahiriya society in order to achieve knowledge for the masses, thereby enabling the masses to make the proper and correct decisions in their popular congresses which are the only true instrument of direct democracy.

D. COMMUNICATION AS A MEANS FOR STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND PEACE

The problem of international communication has for years past been related to the question of imbalance and inequality with which it has been characterized, so that the flow of information has been monodirectional, from the more advanced states to the less developed ones.

A number of international organizations, UNESCO in particular, have attempted to rectify this situation. Efforts have been made in certain countries to seek solutions to the basic problems of international communication. However the solution of such problems does not lie in reformative measures, represented in to provision of various forms of assistance, expertise and guidance. Such measures have proved to be a failure in the economic context, as the provision of economic aid by certain industrialised countries to developing ones results in a consolidation of the power and domination of the already

dominant dictatorial systems, and consequently to an obstruction of social, political and economic change in those countries.

The prime beneficiaries of such assistance are the rulers, the governments and the ruling classes, and it is rare indeed that the people themselves receive any share of such assistance. This applies to any assistance that may be provided to any developing country, and a result of such assistance would be consolidation of the prevailing monopolistic dictatorial communication system, which perpetuates this situation at the international level.

The solution does not simply lie in giving new functions to the existing international communication structure ; the radical solution is to bring about a change in this communication infrastructure in such a way as to reinforce the balance in the communication process of give and take, presenting matters factually and objectively with the aim of achieving international understanding.

The positive functions of the communication information media cannot possibly be achieved unless the barriers of domination and hegemony are destroyed, regardless of their origin. When the communication information media function outside the control of the masses they automatically become instruments of dictatorial power, in the service of the dominant authority in society. If the communication and information media are dictatorial at the level of the local society, then it would indeed be difficult to imagine them performing any noble function at the international level.

The present status of the communication and information media at all levels is strongly connected with other economic, political, cultural and social factors, which makes it necessary to adopt a comprehensive approach in order to seek solutions to the problems of communication and information.

One of the main reasons why certain communication and information media transmit distorted information about other cultures and peoples is that these media are not in the hands of the masses of the people, but are dominated by a minority and are controlled by the same minority.

Placing the communication information media in the hands of the masses of the people, and entrusting them with the responsibility of administration and programming would, of course, eliminate any

private or monopolistic or discriminatory use of the media for evil or oppressive purposes. The communication and information media represent a tremendous power which continues to increase with technological advances. If this power is not in the hands of the masses it must necessarily be used against the masses within their own country, and against other peoples as well which are not looked upon favourably by the dictatorial rulers who dominate the means of communication and information.

It is truly disgraceful and alarming that the majority of the inhabitants of the world should still be living under the domination of a minority of individuals represented by political parties, governments, classes, tribes, families or individuals, in an age of such great technological, industrial and cultural development.

This obviously means that the majority of the inhabitants of this world do not enjoy self-determination, because they are still outside the position of authority, because their wealth is still in the hands of a few, and because their arms are still monopolised by certain categories the basic function of which is to protect and preserve the dictatorial ruling authorities, thus endangering international peace.

The situation of knowledge, culture and the communication information media does not differ very much at the international level from the situation as regards authority, wealth and arms, because in most countries of the world they are still in the service of the dominant authority.

The practical and logical solution to all of this is to follow the path established by the Third Universal Theory, the path taken by the masses of the people who are in full possession of all the requisites of a better life and of progress.

The administrative set up for the authority of the People

Mr Mohamed Hussein Aguil

The administrative set up for the authority of the People.

Popular congresses are the only means to achieve popular democracy, there is only one method to be adopted for the authority of the people. The authority of the people cannot be achieved except by adopting one method, that of popular congresses and people's committees. How then, can this be achieved ?

The prevailing democracies maintained that it was impossible to gather a people, however small, all together at one time in order to discuss study or decide on their policy. *The Green Book* announces to the people the happy discovery of the way to direct democracy, in a pratical form.

1 - First the people are divided into basic Popular Congresses. Each basic Popular Congress chooses its secretariat.

2 - The secretariats together form popular congresses, which are other than the basic ones.

3 - The masses of those basic popular congresses choose administrative people's committees to replace government administration.

— People's committees will be responsible to the basic popular congresses will run the public utilities like shops, municipality council, etc.

— Some of the people's committees will be responsible to more than one of the basic popular congresses, such as those who belong professionally and functionally to the different executive sectors, those concerned with education, health, etc.

— These are responsible to the basic popular congresses which are formed within the municipal zone, considering that they provide a general service to all the people of the area.

— There are general popular committees for all the Jamahiriya and these are responsible to all the basic popular congresses for all the Jamahiriya.

— People's committees will be responsible to the basic popular congresses and these shall provide the policy to be executed and supervised by the people's committees.

Technical people's committees follow up and supervise the execution of the work, and present periodical reports to the popular

congresses regarding progress and execution of their recommendations and decisions. Revolutionary supervision is applied through the revolutionary committees, which are endowed with the power to direct and intimate the popular assemblies and people's committees to ensure and establish the authority of the people. The nature and formation of the people's committees and basic popular congresses have been previously refered to.

— The principle of forming of the basic popular committees and assemblies in the Jamahiriya is based upon the administrative division which took into consideration the geographic division of the population as well as the surface area of the country.

— The principle of the formation of committees of the different professional committees depends upon the presence of the professionals herein, for example, the students would form student's committees in their schools and, in turn, form general committees at the level of the Jamahiriya as well as basic popular students's committees.

— People's committees of producers the base of which is the enterprise of factory. The entire number of producers form a production assembly which in turn chooses a committee for the execution of its decisions as well as the managing of the factory or enterprise on the basis of a personal popular management.

— Thus all public utilities are run by people's committees which will be responsible to the basic popular congresses and these dictate the policy to be followed by the people's committees and supervise its execution. Thus, both the administration and the supervision become popular.

— All citizens who are members of those popular congresses belong professionally and functionally to categories. They have, therefore to establish their own unions and and syndicates in addition to being, as citizens, members of the basic popular congresses and the people's committees.

— Subjects discussed by basic popular congresses or the people's committees, syndicates and unions (as I have explained in my first speech) will take their final shape in the General People's congress, where the secretariats of popular congresses, people's committees, syndicates and unions meet.

What is drafted by the General People's Congress, which meets

annually or periodically will in turn, be submitted to the popular congresses, people's committees, syndicates and unions. The people's committees, responsible to the basic popular congress will then, start executive action.

We can thus see that the application of the Third Universal Theory is possible in the societies which are not composed of a huge number of people, as it has been practically possible for the residents of a particular country and at a given time to meet and discuss issues and that their opinions and decisions be attained at a general assembly, then for execution to start by the people in their popular assemblees and under the supervision of the basic popular congresses. Thus the government can disappear and the popular state can emerge wherein authority, wealth and arms belong to the people.

We presume that, upholding systems depending on the rule of one class or party in society, has been surpassed (by human thought) with the idea of the new philosophy, which depends on the masses of the people who owe authority, wealth and arm in an equal and overall manner.

The Revolutionary Committees and their Role in the Confirmation and Consolidation of the People's Authority

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Dr. Habib W. El Hasnawi

Three important dates in the march of the first of September revolution constitute a significant turning point in the history of Libya :

— The first of September 1969 : the free unified officers overthrew the existing government, abolished the monarchy and declared the establishment of the Republic.

— 15th April 1973 : the start of the Popular Revolution.

— 2nd March 1977 : The ratification of the People's Authority Chart and the declaration of the Jamahiriya.

With the confirmaton of the People's Authority, the revolutionary march started a new phase in its development towards the final stages of the popular society in which the political decision belongs to the entire people ; The revolution also belongs to the people to use it to abolish all exploitation. The arms belong to the people. All citizens are trained to carry arms, to confirm and consolidate the people's authority as its protection is the responsibility of all the people.

The chart of the declaration of the people's authority is binding to each member of the society, they drafted it, confirmed it and assume their responsibility.

Here some questions can be raised : How can the masses exercise their authority ? How can the masses be organised not only to protect their authority but to protect the revolutionary march and the effective participation in making decisions and elaborating policies as well ? How can their effective participation in the popular congresses protect their unity and the acquired improvements ? How can they express their aspirations ? How can they impose their will ? How can they supervise the people they choose to form people's congresses in order to carry out the masses' decisions and objectives ?

All the masses are not expected to be revolutionary ; the large majority of the masses are actually not revolutionary in many places of the world ; they are not usually aware and can be easily influenced. This is why we often see the majority of the people opposed to the principles represented only by a revolutionary minority. This is due to the fact that adopting these principles usually requires a lot of effort and sacrifice which the majority is not always ready to make.

Thus an instrument is required to lead the people through the revolutionary path towards achieving their interests. This instrument is the revolutionary force which believes it should not, and is not

expected to be, a large force. Is not the engine the smallest part of the machine and yet it provides this machine with the necessary power to move ? (1).

The task of the revolutionary force is therefore to invest its potential in leading the popular masses towards the establishment of the free happy Jamahiriya society where injustice, exploitation and political, economic social repression are abolished, and where authority, as well as the arms, belong to the people.

The question therefore is whether there is a difference between the revolutionary instrument in this society as to its form and content and the revolutionary instrument in other revolutionary experiences. If it is different, then how different and why ? We shall try to answer these questions and others which appear when looking into the application of the Third Universal Theory in the Arab Libyan popular social Jamahiriya.

This does not mean however that what is implemented in the Jamahiriya is the right example, appropriate to all other societies. It is rather a certain choice closely related to Libya's conditions, its specific reality and its historical development.

The history of revolutionary experiences in the Arab world and in some third world countries (Nasser's Egypt, Sukarno's Indonesia, Mao Tse Toung's China and Nikruma's Ghana) reveal an important weakness in the organisation of these revolutionary experiences and a lack of a revolutionary theory capable of finding the radical solution to political, economic and social problems.

This is clear when we look at the difficult conditions and the challenges these experiences faced when confronted to foreign forces and internal reactionary elements fighting the issues of freedom, socialism and progress. This explains the lack of committed followers and the presence of opportunists who infiltrated the revolutionary march.

The violent battles led by the revolution reveal the difference between gold and dust, i.e. between true revolutionaries and those who feign devotion. The revolutionary experience becomes like a large laboratory where the servile, the mutineer and the incompetent are the waste which is thrown away as they follow the revolution to achieve personal interest because they have personal relations with the

revolutionary leaders. But once these leaders disappear, their revolutionary practice comes to an end. Sometimes disappearance of the revolutionary leader may mark the starting point for the anti-revolutionaries and the incompetent to form a group which attempts to hit the revolutionary experience treacherously and even take it over to be in the leadership again, in order to destroy and annihilate the true revolution and its achievements. They want to deprive popular masses from their strength and turn them into slaves without any will, working to achieve their selfish interests. This would lead to the defeat of the revolution and is a historical return to a reactionary system.

This return to the reactionary system occurs when the true revolutionary experience fails to get organised and to impose a revolutionary belief capable of solving the problems which face the masses. It also occurs when it fails, while in power, to build committed revolutionaries who believe in the revolution's objectives and values. Being in power means the green light for everybody to pass. Among those who pass there are hundreds and thousands of false revolutionaries who carry false licenses or do not carry a license at all and know nothing about the traffic rules.

Once through the green light, everyone follows his own way. It is like a passenger train which you cannot prevent anybody from getting on, since everyone has bought ticket and has reserved his seat. Among these passengers, there may be a few who have first class tickets permitting them to pass the control units. But often from the start of the journey, some go to the train driver and others to the different wagons, and them they declare they have seized the train : they either change the train's course, or make claims which disagree with the revolution's objectives. Just like what happens when planes are hijacked in Europe and in America.

The result is the deviation of the revolution, the revolutionary experience is abolished and destroyed because of these elements which take its train.

The Third Universal Theory has studied previous revolutionary experiences and has learned the lesson ; therefore, it finds it very important to safeguard the revolution's achievements and to prevent anything from getting in its way or hindering its progress.

This protection does not include material aspects only but it goes beyond these aspects to reach moral, intellectual and spiritual achievements in their exhaustive human concept. This does not only imply the masses resisting in their positions, but it also means the continuation of their struggle for freedom and final salvation, the consolidaton of their advanced positions and the establishment of new fronts against those forces which prevent the revolution's progress. That way a catastrophe will not stop the progress and send human development back to backwardness.

Historical development cannot ensure its own progress, to continue the struggle and face the opposition forces. It is man who owns the conscious brain and the will to do this throughout history.

This proves the importance of the committed man who believes in the movement of the revolution. This is why the Third Universal Theory not only specifies the negative matters which lead to the destruction of the new civilization, the masses' new civilization, but it also requires from the revolutionary community, organized in revolutionary committees, to move and act to stop and destroy any negative action as quickly as possible before such action is transformed into a loss of the people's authority, which will quickly spread to the entire society (2).

The question raised here is how to prevent this from happening, and what is the role of the revolutionary forces in ending the struggle in favour of the revolution ? What are the revolutionary forces ? In other words, what are the characteristics of those forces, what is their capacity and their behaviour which show the difference between a genuine and a false revolutionary ? How can the revolutionary objectives be confirmed and how can the revolution be preached without this revolutionary force deviating or becoming an instrument of repression in the name of the revolution ?

The term "revolutionary committees" is a new term which was not once mentioned in The Green Book. It came into existence when the concept of the people's authority was materialised and took its final form according to the Third Universal Theory. We can follow these committees and the achievements made since 1959 when the first secret revolutionary cell was formed. Muammar Qathafi says that when he started his political struggle in 1959, the group of people with

whom he worked and himself were but a group of ordinary citizens and their feelings were the feelings of each citizen in society.

The question Qathafi raised at that time was how to abolish the existing authority, and how to protect the masses ? How to break through ? This shows that the members of the first revolutionary cell never aimed at reaching the authority as such ; their point of departure was rather popular, aiming at starting a political movement based on belief and whose members are capable of working among the masses so that the latter abolish all restrictions which hinder the popular revolution (3).

But the movement went through a difficult period between 1959 and 1969, when only a small number of Libyans joined it. It was more of a risk to start the revolution then (4).

In 1969, when the revolution started, the idea of a popular revolution and a popular government constituted its fundamental basis. Qathafi says in this respect : "We are people who from the very beginning did not sacrifice our lives for anything but for the people to achieve victory and not ourselves... We provided revolutionaries and not rulers... We confirmed the people's authority as we always ended up with the people to confirm his authority and hand over to him our power and capacities to make him happy (5).

The few years which followed the revolution witnessed radical transformations in the political, economic and social structures in the Arab Libyan society, all in favour of the people. The revolution's leadership always declared that as long as these revolutionary transformations were taking place for the sake of the people, there could be no other party which can be responsible for their execution and protection except the masses themselves since it is a matter of their own interest. They should understand the implications of the change and be aware of the role they should play.

In case the masses are not aware, there should be a revolutionary force to lead the people and increase their political consciousness so that they can provoke the change and exercise their own authority. We have seen that after the publication of the first part of The Green Book the people's authority in Libya was established which led to the fall of the existing government. The popular masses seized the revolutionary command council. The popular revolution emanated from the

localities, the districts and the governorates in the summer 1973 until it reached in 1977 the council of ministers and the revolutionary command council which became the secretary of the General People's Congress which means that the latter appoints it. And the Council of ministers became a General Popular Committee.

A new revolutionary force emerged during those years. It did not exist before or at least it was not known, before 1969. The popular revolution led to its formation through the students' revolt in april 1976. Producers seized the factories and the production establishment of the people's authority by replacing the government by the people was consolidated. But these transformations were not as conclusive as the revolutionary leadership wanted them to be, there was therefore a need to provide the necessary conditions to create a new revolutionary force capable of leading the people until the struggle ended in favour of the revolution and the people's authority.

These transformations constituted an important political gain for the popular masses. The people's authority based on popular congresses, people's committees and syndicates took a unique popular democratic form.

But this new form of popular government needed at that time a nerve to move it and move the popular masses in the first stages of their movement. Thus the effectiveness of this popular form depended on the existence of a revolutionary political ideological movement among the popular masses, everywhere, among all social categories in order to move the masses from within, and destroy any political movement which aimed at dominating the people and usurping their authority. The presence of such revolutionary ideological force consolidates the masses and gives them the effectiveness and the capacity to adopt the right position.

The leader of the revolution made a series of lectures to explain the first part of The Green Book to the leadership of the popular congress and people's committees, university and school students. On 14.7.1976, Qathafi gave a lecture which he repeated in 21.8.1976 to explain the importance of a revolutionary political and ideoligical force and its role in confirming the new revolutionary values among people and in preaching the new theory. He declared that he hoped his force would be constituted of the 1976 graduates of the politicisation camps

which included graduates from teachers schools, universities and secondary schools as they represent the best elements to constitute this movement due to their age and the cultural awareness (6).

Qathafi proposed that all members of the politicisation camps should meet at the end of each cycle to form the beginning of the new revolutionary political and ideological movement mentioned above which will undertake the task of confirming the principle of "the people's authority and the arms in the hands of the people" in addition to explaining the new form of the Jamahiriya society.

Qathafi defined the characteristics of this movement which he called the "red nerve". He said it will not be a party or a vanguard. Nor will it be any of the institutions which dominate the people. It will be something similar to the nerve in the human body. The body of man is constituted in such any integral way that it carries out its own function. But it cannot move without a nerve moving each part of it, like the hand for example, its is an integral part but cannot move unless a nerve moves it.

The distribution of the "red nerve" among the popular masses does not mean that it constitutes a class above the people. On the contrary, they are part of the people, but as an ideological, political fermentation, they represent an effective political movement among people to confirm the people's authority and the popular practice of autority. Otherwise, the masses who strongly believe in the revolution as well as their gains and achievements can disappear at any time as a result of unprepared and inefficient people.

Each person in the "red nerve" is required to be effective in his district, to confirm the revolutionary values and to be able to gain the people's confidence. He should adopt the proper behaviour. His work is like the work of a preacher who calls for the adoption of a new religion among people who do not believe and who know nothing about this religion. The same applies to the member of the "red nerve", he preaches among people who do not believe in the revolutionary values but he turns them into believers in these values and in the new political religion.

The revolutionary committees, which Qathafi compared to the red nerve, were imposed by the reality experienced by the Libyan people. They were the natural result of the phase through which the Libyan

people were going, so that they constituted the people's vanguard which led them in the right direction.

Thus the first revolutionary committee was formed in Tripoli in 7.11.1977 after the declaration of the "people's authority". The declaration of its formation stipulated the following :

> "In the name of God the merciful and on the basis of the principles of The Green Book" committees are everywhere to protect the great first of September revolution, to confirm the people's authority and to preach the Jamahiriya age "a number of revolutionaries from the city of Tripoli have formed a revolutionary committee". "The revolutionary committee of Tripoli declares its formation". "It calls on the revolutionary forces in Tripoli to join it", "to lead the Arab masses to advanced positions on the revolution's road", "to preach the new society and raise the flag of the national and the religious unity".

Together with the revolutionary forces, these revolutionary committees will undertake the following :

1) Orient the people's committee and the working committees of the congresses.
2) Incite popular congresses to consolidate the people's authority.
3) Encourage people to exercise their authority.
4) Exercise revolutionary supervision.
5) Protect the first of September revolution, defend it and preach its objectives.

The "El Faqr el Gedid" newspaper published on november 8, 1977 an article about the establishment of revolutionary committees in other cities of the Jamahiriya : in Tarhouna, Bani Walid, Benghazi, Gharyen, el Zawigah, al Aziziak and others. They all made statements similar to the one made by the revolutionary committee of Tripoli.

Thus the revolutionary forces in the Arab Libyan Popular Socialist Jamahiriya started revolutionary committees in other cities and villages in basic popular congress, in schools, universities, in syndicates and professional unions and production establishments.

The revolutionary committees deriving from the Third Universal Theory and its intellectual and legal principles differ much from any other revolutionary organisation. It is more realistic and more

compatible with the experience of direct democracy where authority, wealth and arms are in the hands of the people.

While in other experiences, the revolutionary vanguard aims at reaching authority and at imposing its will on society, in the Third Universal Theory however, we find that the membership in the revolutionary committees is open to all revolutionaries. "No revolutionary outside the revolutionary committees". These committees start with people who discover through The Green Book the false nature of contemporary traditional democracy and the exploitation and unjust laws with which man dominate man. They feel the social injustice and become revolutionaries, and refuse all rules which contradict natural law. Revolution is therefore a belief in personal principles. The revolutionary is not subject to the appointment regulations (8).

The revolutionary beliefs on which the revolutionary forces are based constitute a sort of base which expands horizontally to lead the revolutionary force's will towards the masses' movement, and the latter through the right road, thus making them stronger and more positive. It also expands in man's depth to make him feel responsible and conscious, and lead him to the creative work in live with the revolutionary values in which he believes and with the objectives of the popular movement as declared in the popular congress. True revolutionaries are, therefore, required to carry out their work in too directions. One is personal and introvert or what the Islam calls the "higher sacred battle" due to the difficulties it implies and the resistance and selfcontrol it requires. Man is always in a state of struggle against the evil forces in himself. As a revolutionary he is required to continously change in order to get rid of the evil inclinations and greed in himself, as these may prevent him from adhering to the revolutionary force and deviate from the revolution's major issues.

Thus he has to continue to fight evil inclinations in himself and defeat them. Without this internal struggle concerning man's inner will, one cannot expect any change in the external struggle led by all revolutionary forces together.

For a person to be able to cooperate with others, for his experience and movement to be coordinated with the experience and movement of others, in other words for him to be able to participate more effectively in the revolutionary movement, a person has to adhere to a

revolutionary committee so that he can encourage the masses to destroy the existing unjust bases in society and abolish the dictatorial instruments of government. Only this, will make it possible for the Jamahiriya age to start, where authority, wealth and arms belong to the people (9). After the establishment of the people's authority, the role of the revolutionary committees is to incite popular congress and people's committees to exercise authority, control and orientation as well as revolutionary responsibility in order to avoid the deviation of the people's authority. Thus the people's authority can be exercised on the right basis and the members of the popular congresses become as aware and conscious as the members of revolutionary committees. Only then can they both have the same level of thought and practice (10).

Although as we have indicated before, each person has the right to register himself in a revolutionary committee, yet the membership card he receives does not make him authomatically a "revolutionary", as this characteristic applies only to those who "excel", that is, who pass the test of self struggle and defeat the evil in themselves. Only these can enjoy a behaviour and morals which lead them to the top only reached by revolutionaries who are committed in thought and in practice.

Thus they become a model to follow, as indicated in their membership card. They become an example of the new man who is committed from a religious and national point of view.

Revolutionary practice is therefore linked to the Third Universal Theory in the creative capacity, love of freedom, the will to defend this freedom and abolish the values of the traditional society, and in a belief in the values of the new Jamahiriya society.

The relationship between the belief in the revolution and the action and work to materialise its thought and principles, is a reciprocal fundamental relationship. If one is lacking, a defeat occurs and the old society's values are revived and threaten the very existence of revolutionary forces.

The more the concept of revolutionary commitment of belief is clear for the revolutionary person, the more his activities are coordinated with the concept of the revolution and the more he expresses himself in deep and comprehensive meaning.

The Third Universal Theory puts forward many systems and controls, which consolidate the concept of the people's authority and determine the duties of the revolutionary committees in this respect. If member of these committees are left free to exercise the revolution in their own way, this may not ensure the achievement of the revolution for some people and its continuation for others. This is why a minimum of control and duties are elaborated to be considered as the basis on which the revolutionary activities are built to lead the revolutionary man (by choice), according to his capacity, to a level of sacrifice.

This is why a particular fact related to the work of the revolutionary committees must be confirmed. This fact is that the Third Universal Theory elaborates, for the revolutionary forces, a practical programme which starts with sweat and ends with death (11). In other words, the prospects of work for a committed revolutionary end at the moment where he becomes one and only one with his belief, and becomes its very expression, and life and death are the same thing for him, without any distinction.

Freedom, which is the central issue in the Third Universal Theory, is always the objective which each revolutionary tries to achieve.

To believe in freedom and to struggle for its achievement leads to the fact that there is no difference between life and death. As if the matter of life and death for revolutionaries was a way to know who among them is more attached to freedom and to a happy free life.

Man's future is a return to slavery the moment the people's authority is abolished, that is the moment freedom is defeated (12). The major task of revolutionary committees is to be with the weak and the oppressed all over the world and to extend their activities to include all places and all times until popular masses achieve victory everywhere, exercise authority and control wealth and arms. Thus freedom is achieved and the existing traditional instruments of government in the world are defeated.

Achievement and protection of freedom cannot take place under the existing traditional political systems. Only popular masses can do this by owning and carrying the arms on the one hand and by believing in truth and in a free honorable life on the other. The moment the revolutionary forces leave that strategic positions they occupy while they lead the masses in the struggle against the traditional instruments

of governing (that struggle which is closely related to the principle "authority and arms in the hands of the people" confirmed by the Third Universal Theory), they fall in backward position where they are in contradiction with themselves and their own beliefs. They will definitively be defeated if they leave their positions, without being well equipped with awareness, culture (no revolutionary without revolutionary doctrine), and without allowing the popular masses to dominate the sources of power and terrorism, which man all over the world fears, (i.e. authority wealth and arms). Victoty cannot be achieved, freedom cannot be confirmed and the Jamahiriya society cannot be established (13), no matter how strong the slogans and how loud the revolutionary forces shout their enthusiastic songs, if the Third Universal Theory cannot be translated into responsible revolutionary practice and without and a wide culture and a strong commitment in the relationship between the revolution and the masses.

True revolutionaries are the ones who stay in their positions with honesty and truth, with understanding and awareness. Culture and commitment provide revolutionary forces with the intellectual weapon to be able to face the cultural currents opposed to the people's authority and direct democracy. Culture and commitment also permit these revolutionary committees to be effective, to lead the people to be followed and heard by the masses.

If the masses are outside the authority, they will only struggle to reach this authority. If the revolutionary committees fail to encourage people and lead then to make the right decision, this will mean that someting went wrong in these committees practices, or that some of theirs members are not worthy of the people's confidence. Therefore, the revolutionary forces are required to review their programmes and evaluate their members behaviour and drop out those who do not conform to the revolutionary "characteristics" which are, as we have seen above, a behaviour and a practice. A revolutionary force cannot be defined as such, because of its slogans and songs. On the contrary a revolutionary must get rid of such aspects and must attempt to include new revolutionary elements to his movement so that they become part of the revolutionary force which increases the union with the masses (14).

This is why Qathafi always calls on the revolutionary forces to be assimilated with the masses and always warns them against departing from people or exercising authority. He says that the warning bell rings when revolutionary committees aim at exercising authority as they become a party which fights for power and is transformed into a dictatorial instrument (15). History is full of examples of revolutionary movements which call on revolutionary principles and objectives until they obtain the masses' approval. Once they practice authority however, they deny their principles and objectives.

Those who try to occupy a dual position between authority and the revolution are nothing but one of the dictatorial instruments of governing which are totally refuted by the Third Universal Theory.

Revolutionary committees which are the result of the popular revolution are considered by the Third Universal Theory as a unique example in the world of a body which encourages people to exercise their own authority.

The membership card of the revolutionary committees names the tasks of these committees as follows :

1. — encourage people to exercise authority.
2. — consolidate people's authority.
3. — exercise revolutionary control.
4. — incite popular congresses.
5. — orient people's committees and working committees of congresses.
6. — protect, defend and promote the great First of September revolution.

Thus we see that revolutionary committees do not aim at exercising authority. On the contrary they call for the establishment of people's authority. If we realise the extent of violence in the struggle all over the world today, we shall understand the great importance of the tasks included in the green membership card of the revolutionary committees. We would also be aware of the depth and comprehensiveness of the bases to which the revolutionary committees turn when carrying out their activities among the masses and with preaching the revolution's cultural message in the world.

When Qathafi explains the duties of the revolutionary committees, he always speaks about the numerous contemporary revolutionary

experiences which call for revolutionary ideas with progressive social and political implications. Yet once they reach authority, they inmediately deviate from their objectives. This is due to the lack of a "security valve" which controls the revolutionary practice. These people, once in authority, practice the game of struggle for power forgetting, the principal objectives and principles for which they were struggling. This is due to the fact that these experiences took place on soft ground, governed only by the love of power and pretence (16).

We may compare here the organisational element in the movement of the revolutionary committees according to the Third Universal Theory and that element in the Communist party according to the Marxist theory, as there is a principal dissimilarity between both, namely their different position towards popular masses.

The Communist party after imposing the Marxist theory, exercises authority by confirming the party's authority, by controling the people and by exercising oppression to consolidate the party's authority.

Revolutionary committees are an instrument of popular revolution in the Third Universal Theory. They are an instrument which leads and encourages and not the very basis of the theory. The theory's basis is to establish the people's authority.

The role of the revolutionary committees is to consolidate this authority by adopting a new method of revolutionary work :

1) it separates authority from revolution

2) it creates a new method of work in line with the intellectual principles and practical practices of the Jamahiriya society, as popular masses exercise authority through popular congresses and people's committees ; as for revolutionaries, they exercise the revolution through the revolutionary committees (13).

The Third Universal Theory is based on an in-depth study of history and its consideration of freedom as a comprehensive issue. The democratic problem indicated that the main problem lies in the deviation of the revolution in any experience in history, as it makes no difference between exercising authority and control, and the revolution itself.

Any instrument of government which is not of the people is but a dictatorial undemocratic instrument (18). The Third Universal Theory makes it the responsibility of the people to exercise authority, but if the

people's will is usurped and authority is exercised on their behalf, the people's awareness is extinguished and they sink into blind obedience and enslavement, so that they become unable to say "no". They may even loose the will and the capacity to change and transform, and will accept the dictatorial practices of the instruments of government.

This is where the people, especially the active section, are responsible for bringing things back to normal.

That active section of society is the revolutionary committees which are, as mentioned in their membership card, "the practical political framework of the revolutionary force of the great first of September revolution", they are the revolutionary leadership which leads the broad masses every day to more advanced positions.

They are the nerves which move the masses ; they are society's ramification and the instrument of preaching the new civilisation.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of the revolutionary committees in the Third Universal Theory is a new phenomenon, the popular revolution's instrument, tomorrow's revolution and the result of the people's authority. These committees' duties are more like a comprehensive programme which organises the activities of the Jamahiriya society and which gives the masses' movement a meaning. It leads these masses towards achieving their aims. In other words, the revolutionary committees put the concept of people's authority and the Jamahiriya society on the right way and provide the masses with the incentive and justification to exercise authority efficiently. They help them develop in such a way as to achieve happiness and abolish all negative aspects which may hinder the establishment of the people's authority. They also help abolish all negativism from all public objectives and high policies which are elaborated by the popular congresses.

NOTES

(1) Muammar Qathafi : speech in Dersiyah on 23.9.1979, the national registry, the annual book 1979/80. Also his speech in Sebha on 13.11.1979.
(2) op. cit.
(3) Muammar Qathafi : lecture given in the The of April Campon 19.7.1976 and 2.8.76 and 24.8.1976 and 3.9.76.
(4) M. Qathafi, op. cit.
(5) M. Qathafi, op. cit.
(6) M. Qathafi, op. cit.
(7) El Fagr el Gedid newspaper, N°. 1618 of 7.11.1977.
(8) Muammar Qathafi : lecture to revolutionary committees of secondary school graduates.
(9) Muammar Qathafi in el Darsiya.
(10) Muammar Qathafi : lecture to revolutionary committees in Sebha.
(11) Muammar Qathafi : lecture to meeting of revolutionary committees in Baghezi, 8.3.79.
(12) Muammar Qathafi : op. cit.

Second Part

ECONOMIC CONCEPT

A Comparative Study between the Socialist Jamahiriyan System and the other Economic Systems

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To the Belgrade Symposium

The Jamahiriyan Socialist economic system as explained in the Third Universal Theory did not start from scratch.

It was the result of a detailed study of all the economic systems which came before it, a study which analysed the scientific bases of these systems, reviewed their practical records and implementation, the progress and prosperity they made possible as well as their negative consequences or the obstacles they created. Indeed, some of these systems turned out to be tragedies for the peoples concerned by them ; they simply resulted in the enslavement and exploitation of millions and millions of human beings. Therefore, the Jamahiriyan Socialist system is the result of the evolution of human thought. It not only puts forward more serious and efficient solutions to the problems of mankind, but it criticises scientifically the previous solutions in the political, economic and social fields.

This contribution is a comparative study between this system and the previous ones. We shall try to indicate where they agree and where they disagree in order to determine their respective merits.

The Jamahiriyan system aims at achieving freedom for the people so that every man may live a happy life. That is why it endeavours to break all ties which hinder men in the political, economic or social fields.

In the Jamahiriyan system, when we say Man, we mean the whole of mankind, regardless of race, religion or social status. The objective of this system is to achieve freedom for all the peoples of the world and not for a given class, minority or party as was, or is, the case with some other systems.

The human thought produced many political, economic and social systems which tried, throughout history, to solve the various problems of mankind. But when we study these systems and the methods they adopted, we see that not one of them came out with radical solutions. They merely found temporary ones which all proved wrong after a while, leaving the problems they were supposed to tackle as acute as ever.

According to the Third Universal Theory, these systems failed because there is a wide gap between them and the natural laws and principles governing humanity's existence. Solutions which disregard these natural laws and principles are bound to be artificial, temporary

and limited in time. As soon as the hypotheses on which they were based crumble or change, they collapse and the problems become even more complex than they were.

We all know that God created all men equal, that He created all the resources and treasures of the earth so that everyone may use them. But the systems created by Man to govern his life disregarded natural laws and as the solutions based on these systems were artificial, they proved unjust, causing Man's misery and unhappiness.

As far as economic problems are concerned, we can say that the first known economic system which tried to solve Man's problems was the capitalist one. This system was studied by the "classical economists". The works of thinkers like Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stewart Mill, Marshall, etc. put forward its main principles, which may be summarised as follows :

1. — Economic freedom.
2. — Individual or private property.
3. — Free enterprise and a mechanical price-fixing system.
4. — Profit as an incitement to production.
5. — No government intervention in the economic activities.

The advocates of the capitalist system adopted these principles because they firmly believed in the social equilibrium theory, according to which there is no contradiction between the interests of the individual and the interests of the group or society.

For them, society is a large group of individuals, so if every member of that group serves his own interests and achieves happiness, this would bring about happiness for the society as a whole. They also believe that this balance between individual and collective profit is achieved spontaneously because, according to them, there is a hidden force which drives the individual while he is trying to serve his own interests, so that without being aware of it, he serves the interests of society. Adam Smith goes even further, he thinks that "the individual serves society more when he takes care of his private affairs than when he devotes his time to the service of society".

Such principles led to the belief that the best way to solve the economic problems was to give individuals full freedom in choosing the economic activity or activities which they deemed suitable, in entering contract activities or owning privately as much property and

economic resources as possible. They were also absolutely free to manage and dispose of these properties without any intervention or limitation on the part of the government. The idea was that in a fully competitive situation, with all these liberties allowed, the price-fixing system or market would be automatically capable of imposing all the functions of that economic system, like distribution and production, in the best way possible. Thus, the price-fixing system and its incitements were to encourage the producers to produce the commodities and services for which there was a demand therefore, at interesting prices. In so doing, the producers would turn away from goods and services for which there was no demand, or too low a price.

Thr price system was also supposed to make them produce the quantities which were likely to give them the maximum profit or to limit their losses to a minimum. It was even supposed to help them choose the best production methods so as to obtain the desired quantities at the minimum cost. Finally, the price system was, according to its advocates, capable of ensuring a fair distribution to the producing elements.

In other terms, the advocates of the capitalist system consider that in a free competition situation where all individuals are able to choose their economic activities and own as much property as they wish, the price system will spontaneously fulfill all the economic functions. No need, therefore, for a planning body (or bodies), nor for controlling authorities. These functions being inherent to the capitalist system, the government only has to preserve economic liberties by passing laws to that end and by seeing to it that fullest competitive conditions are ensured, expanded, without interfering with the economic activities undertaken by the individual.

The capitalist system, after being implemented in the industrialised countries, soon was extended to many other states. So much so that at a certain period of history, it seemed to be the only system applied worldwide. Undoubtedly, it achieved great successes, especially in the production field. Production increased, industry and trade thrived, while the standard of living improved as compared with the previous situation, especially in the Feudal Age.

Many factors contributed to this boom, the most important of which was the Industrial Revolution with the inventions and discoveries

which came with it. The methods of production improved, increasing thereby the quantities produced and decreasing the costs of production. Colonialism also largely contributed to the enrichment of the industrialised countries. By exploiting other peoples' resources and dominating entire continents, putting them at the service of their own economies, the colonialist powers lept forward and increased their peoples' prosperity. All these factors appeared under cover of economic liberalism. All the successes achieved were attributed to the virtues of the capitalist system.

That is how a large number of people still believe, even today, that this system is the best one, the most likely to solve economic problems.

But, as time went by, and with the disappearance of some of the factors which brought about the boom I talked about, especially colonialism, the flaws of capitalism became clearly visible. The reasons for its failure also became flagrant. The colonised peoples had woken up, they demanded independence and full sovereignty over their resources.

The degree of consciousness of the masses was such that they could no longer take the virtues of capitalism for granted. Experience proved that capitalism, with its economic liberalism and price-fixing system, in spite of its achievements like the increase in production and its improvement, failed to produce a fair distribution system, capable of satisfying the vital needs of everyone and of achieving happiness. In fact, in the capitalist system, the distribution of wealth and income is a complete failure.

A brief look at the statistics of the distribution of wealth and income in the capitalist countries shows how unfair it is. A small minority owns the greatest part of the wealth of these countries and, therefore, has the highest income, while the majority owns nothing and has a minimum income. The price system is favourable to those who possess scarce economic resources, but it cannot fairly distribute that scarcity.

The Capitalist system did not fare better in the social field. It proved incapable of producing a good social system or a decent social life for it is merely a class system based on social oppression and injustice in most aspects of life. Capitalist societies are divided into two classes : a

class which owns everything and a class which owns nothing. This led to a struggle between these two classes. The gap between them is getting wider and wider in spite of the numerous attempts by the governments of capitalist countries to narrow it, and the struggle becomes more and more violent. As a result of this division of society, freedom and democracy were only possible for the wealthy, those who dominated the economic resources. As for the poor, those who have no property, their freedom is only formal and does not allow them to improve their situation. On the contrary, they are oppressed, exploited, ruled and disposed of in the very name of democracy and freedom.

Likewise, we find out that the capitalist system and its laws disregard the human aspect in the economic relationships. They are only concerned with the material aspect. For instance, salaries are fixed according to the supply and demand for labour without taking into account whether such salaries are sufficient to cover the essential needs of the workers. The human needs are not accounted for when fixing the quantity and quality of production, except when they are accompanied by an important purchasing power. This means that the needs of those who have a low purchasing power are not considered as a demand and have no influence when decisions concerning production are taken.

We also notice that this system frankly allows all forms of exploitation. Thus, incomes provided by monopolies, rents, bank accounts and inherited fortunes are not the result of any effort or work but rather of the exploitation of other people. The capitalist system implies, therefore, that a category of people lives comfortably without having to work. It contributes to the creation of a class of non-working owners who consume without producing. Therefore, it fails to directly relate production to consumption and that is why it suffers economic crises like unemployment, inflation, etc...

THE MARXIST SYSTEM (COMMUNISM)

When it became obvious that capitalism could not solve the problems of mankind and as a result of all the difficulties it had created, many thinkers started to contemplate a new economic system, one

which would be more likely to preserve justice and solve human problems.

The most important works written on the matter were Karl Marx's, which constituted the basis of the Marxist thought and of the Marxist economic system or Communism. Here are the main principles of that thought :

1. — The abolishment of private property, to replace it by public property.

2. — Decisions concerning production no longer to be the result of competition and of the price mechanism, but to be taken by a planning body.

3. — A fair distribution.

4. — Profit no longer to be recognised as an incitement to produce.

The partisans of Marxism believe that the failure of capitalism is due to private property which concentrated wealth in the hands of a minority and divided society into two classes. According to them, private property is the cause of exploitation and of the misery of the working class. Therefore, the problem could only be solved by abolishing it.

By attacking capitalism and unveiling its flaws, the Marxists convinced a large number of people that paradise and happiness could be obtained through Marxism. That is how that system was adopted by the Soviet Union, then by many others like China, Eastern European countries, Cuba, etc.

This system too achieved great successes in certain areas, especially in industry. It allowed these countries to progress very rapidly compared with capitalist countries. But at what cost ! The progress and the improvements it made possible went along with utter failures, which could be summarised as follows :

1. — NO INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

When we consider the Marxist system as it is presently applied in certain countries, we see that the individual no longer has the possibility to choose his economic activity, nor can he privately own any property. He does not even enjoy the freedom to decide upon the

goods and services he consumes. Everything is decided for him by the State, the ruling party or the central planning authority. Therefore, this system failed to achieve freedom. On the contrary, the small amount of freedom allowed under the capitalist system disappeared under Marxism.

2. — IT DID NOT ABOLISH EXPLOITATION

According to its supporters, Marxism (or Communism) was instituted in order to abolish exploitation, to achieve justice in the distribution process and to free the working class from the oppression and domination of the capitalist class. Not one of these goals has been achieved to date. The increase in value which used to go to the capitalists now goes to the State, under the Marxist system, not to the working class. This class is, therefore, still being exploited since it does not get the value of its produce but a salary fixed by the government. Only the exploiter has changed, it is no longer the capitalists but the government, and this form of exploitation is probably worse.

3. — IT DID NOT ABOLISH THE CLASS SYSTEM

The Marxist system has created an exploiting class : the ruling party which dominates every aspect of life and decides upon all matters. The rest of society is at their service, a silent helpless class. The Marxist system is far from having abolished the classes.

4. — A LOW PRODUCTIVITY

A certain number of comparative studies clearly indicated that the productivity of workers under a Marxist system is lower than that of their counterparts in capitalist countries. The reason for this phenomenon is that in a Marxist state, the worker has no incitement : he gets a fixed salary without taking into consideration the amount of goods and services produced. Experience has proved that letters of

congratulations, medals and certificates are no incitement for the workers and cannot be compared to material encouragements.

Consequently, we notice that the abolishment of private property is being questioned. Small private properties appeared alongside public ones in an attempt to boost productivity, especially in agriculture.

The best proof of the failure of the Marxist system is the tendency of certain Marxist countries, especially Yugoslavia (as well as Poland more recently), to deviate from the recognised Marxist line.

THE NEW JAMAHIRIYAN SOCIALIST SYSTEM

As a result of the failure of the traditional economic systems to find radical and definitive solutions, there was an urgent need for a new system capable of solving radically economic problems once and for all, a system which would achieve freedom and happiness for mankind and abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression. That was the subject of the second part of The Green Book.

According to the new socialist system, as explained in the second part of The Green Book, the economic problems can be radically solved by returning to natural laws and by submitting all economic relationships to these laws. Natural laws had fixed these relationships a long time before classes, governments and temporal laws appeared. They had produced a natural form of socialism based on equality between the producing elements, thus achieving an approximately equal distribution of the produce of nature among the people.

Disproportionate consumption, unfair distribution and exploitation of man by man are unnatural phenomena. They signalled the beginning of the corruption of mankind and the appearance of the society of exploitation, classes, social troubles and economic problems.

The mistake made by traditional systems was, according to the Third Universal Theory, to disregard natural laws in fixing economic relationships.

The fundamental principles of the new Jamahiriyan Socialist economic system could be summarised as follows :

1. — THE OBJECTIVE OF THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS TO PRODUCE IN ORDER TO SATISFY THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

The economic activity in the new socialist society must be a producing activity aiming at satisfying people's needs. There must be no more unproductive activities or profit-making ones which allow the holding of the excess produce. Economic resources are limited. They are not sufficient to satisfy all the needs of mankind. Therefore they must be well exploited within useful and productive economic activities and not wasted in unproductive ones which can only aggravate economic problems and the scarcity of certain resources. No one has the right to monopolise a given quantity of resources once he has satisfied his needs, for in doing so, he would deprive the others.

2. — TO LIBERATE MAN'S NEEDS

The objective of any economic system worthy of this name is to achieve Man's happiness. Happiness being the corollary of freedom, the new economic system advocates the liberation of all Man's needs from all forms of domination, whether they be exerted by individuals, clans or parties. That is the fundamental principle of this new system.

Undoubtedly, the best way to achieve this goal is to consider the needs of everyone as their private and sacred property, to be preserved from any exterior domination. As long as Man is not the master of his needs, as long as he cannot determine them and satisfy them as he wishes, he is not entirely free and he cannot attain happiness. Therefore, the essential slogan of this system is : "In need freedom is latent, and happiness lies within freedom". (Colonel Muammar Qathafi : The Green Book, second part "The solution of the economic problem : Socialism"

3. — PARTNERS, NOT WAGE-EARNERS

As far as the relationships between the workers and the employers are concerned, we notice that a salary system results in the

exploitation of the former by the latter. Wages earned by the workers are invariably inferior to the value of their production. The working class is thus enslaved and frustrated by the employers, for they feel that their working force and that of their children lies at the mercy of their employers. How can they consider themselves as equals under such conditions ? In this connection, the second part of The Green Book declares that : "Wage-earners, however well paid, are merely a kind of slave. A wage-earner is but a kind of slave of the master who employs him. Rather, he is a temporary slave whose slave condition lasts as long as he works for a wage paid by an employer, whether this employer is an individual or a government". That is why the new economic system claims that the only correct and radical solution is to abolish the wage-earning system once and for all, in order to return to the sound, natural principle governing distribution : those who contribute in the producing process must get their share of the produce as partners, in other words, there is an implementation of the slogan "Partners, not wage-earners". Only thus could we abolish the present oppressive relationships.

When all producers are partners in the producing process, without slaves or masters, no workers and employers, when producers are totally liberated from the wage system and its consequences : exploitation and slavery, then all the economic problems resulting from monopolies will disappear. There will be no more price increases, decreases in production. Unemployment and strike phenomena will fade away and stop hindering the process of production. Then all members of society being equal partners will seek to increase production in order to satisfy as many of their needs as possible.

4. — AN EQUAL DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE PRODUCING ELEMENTS

We all know that any produce is the result of a given process which, in turn, requires the combination of at least two producing elements. These elements are equally vital, therefore, the produce must be equally shared out and redistributed to them. Whenever one of the producing elements dominates the others or gets more than its own

share, there is an infringement of the Natural Law pertaining to equality.

5. — TO ABOLISH ALL EXPLOITATION FACTORS

The setting up of the new socialist society which aims at liberating Man and achieving happiness, requires the abolishment of all forms of exploitation, for they limit Man's freedom and happiness. Thus, it is necessary to extirpate the very roots of exploitation, principally the rent and wage systems. This process is clearly explained by the new socialist system.

6. — IT IS NECESSARY TO REGULATE PROPERTY

The new socialist system was aware of the importance of property and the major role it plays in boosting economic activities. The success of any economic system largely depends on solving the problem of property, codifying and regulating it. Most of the economic problems, if not all of them (exploitation, domination, oppression, division of societies into rich and poor classes, etc.), are the consequences of the absence of a radical solution to the problem of property. The new socialist system, after reviewing in detail the attempts made by the previous systems to tackle this problem, came out with the following solutions :

1. — Man's vital needs such as housing, means of transportation, an income, etc., must be considered as sacred, private property. No one (whether an individual or even society) should be allowed to interfere with other people's needs or control them.

2. — Means of production are to be privately-owned, in so far as they satisfy personal needs and correspond to the amount of efforts which can be *personnally* invested in them, without resorting to employing other persons.

3. — Collectively-owned properties (or properties of the whole society), in which the produce shall be equally shared out between the members of society, who are considered as partners. This kind of

property replaces private property based on the produce of wage-earners.

4. — The new socialist system paid particular attention to the land element, for this element, which has been created by God, is extremely important for the producing process. Thus, it clearly stated that land could not be privately-owned by anyone (one of our key slogans says : "Land belongs to no one"). But any man has the right to use land and exploit it within the limits of his own efforts and needs.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE NEW SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND THE PREVIOUS SYSTEMS

In the light of this study, we can say that the new socialist economic system is fundamentally different to the capitalist and the communist systems, whether from the point of view of the principles or of the scientific solutions it proposes to the economic problems. In fact, it puts forward a new theory which disagrees with the two previous ones, that is why it is called the Third Universal Theory. This new theory criticised the traditional theories and indicated how they merely proposed reformist temporary solutions and not radical ones. The reason for this failure is, once again, that both of the traditional theories disregarded natural laws and were mainly based on temporal ones.

Likewise, the Third Universal Theory is clearly distinct from capitalist and Marxist theories in so far as it gives new explanations to the concepts of freedom, property, etc.

For instance, by freedom we mean full freedom for everyone and not partial freedom. All men must be free if they want to attain happiness. How can a man pretend to be free if he has no say in all matters and decisions which affect his life ? How can a man be free if he is not master of all his needs ? How can a man be free and the equal of other men as long as he works as a wage-earner for another man or authority ? That is why we consider that freedom must be enjoyed by everyone and not only by a given group of people, a class or a party.

In the same way, the individual must enjoy full freedom in all aspect of life.

As for the problem of property, we also find out that the solution proposed by the Third Universal Theory is entirely different to those of the capitalist and Marxist theories. For instance, both of these traditional theories concentrate on the concept of bare ownership, and not on the concept of exploitation and use of property as the Third Universal Theory does. The capitalist system provides for unlimited private property while Marxism completely abolishes it. As for the Third Universal Theory, it proposes an original solution which consists in allowing private ownership within certain limits, for it undoubtedly represents a powerful incitement to production. The limits imposed on it are the extent of the personal efforts any individual can invest it, on condition he does not resort to employing other people and uses its produce to satisfy his needs so that he does not produce beyond the limits of these needs. We notice how closely related are the concepts of ownership and production. In this way, ownership cannot be deviated from its natural purpose nor can it incite laziness, exploitation, oppression and enslavement of man by man. This idea was disregarded by the two previous theories.

The central concepts differ from one theory to the other. Thus, capitalism is centred around the idea of production and the means to increase it, while it is much less concerned with distribution. Marxism does exactly the opposite.

On the contrary, the Third Universal Theory considers that both these concepts are equally important. It endeavours to ensure, by all means, justice in the distribution process, to abolish all pockets of exploitation and, at the same time, it tries to encourage production as much as possible, since it gives the individual the right to privately own his vital needs. According to it, the producer (or worker) must be a partner in the production process and not a wage-earner. Every worker must get his full share of the produce and that is the most powerful material incitement.

Therefore, the Third Universal Theory is the first theory which give us radical solutions to the problems of society : the wage system, the rent system, etc. The slogans "Partners, not wage-earners", "The house belongs to those who live in it", etc., were created in that spirit.

Thus, our conclusion is that the new socialist Jamahiriyan economic system, as presented in Part Two of The Green Book, can in no way

be considered as an extension of the capitalist or Marxist systems.

On the contrary, it is a third system, entirely distinct from the other two. The solutions it proposes for the economic problems are new, original and radical ones. The new system criticizes capitalism and Marxism and disagrees with their fundamental principles and solutions. While these two systems disregard natural laws in tackling economic problems, the new economic system reverts to the Natural Law pertaining to each problem.

That is what we mean by the Third Universal Theory : an original socialist Jamahiriyan economic system which has adopted a new path, entirely distinct from those of Capitalism and Marxism.

Ownership in the Third Universal Theory The Green Book *The Libyan Application of this Theory*

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INTRODUCTION

The social system which survives with the least possible struggle and disputes is the one which achieves the most possible justice, equality and freedom. If economy is concerned with the effectiveness of production in any society with the least possible effort, then law is more concerned with the achievement of justice, equality and freedom.

Ownership is one of the points at the cross-roads between the legislators and the economists, or the point of compromise between economic effectiveness on one hand and justice and equality on the other. The legal aspect of ownership is part of the legal system of the society and cannot be considered as a separate system, but the implications of the social system are reflected on the arrangement of ownership.

The new system in the Jamahiriya has created a happy society through liberating the needs of the individuals from the control of others as "in need freedom is latent" and "he who controls your needs, controls your freedom". The satisfaction of needs does not mean all needs and desires, but the ones that are within the resources of the society.

To understand the basis of ownership in Libyan Jamahyria, we have to refer to the First Constitutional Document of 2 March, 1977 (The Declaration of the Authority of the People) where it was declared that the basis of the political system is the authority of the people. The Declaration emphasised also direct democracy and the adoption of socialism, including public ownership.

The Green Book is the theoretical guide of the Third Universal Theory which is being applied in Libya. The happy and just society is the one that puts an end to the unjust relations. The main ideas in the legal system in the Jamahyria are public ownership, the authority of the people, in need freedom is latent and partners not wage-workers.

The question now is should ownership be private or public or a combination of both ? We have to look at four important points in details before we judge the Libyan experience. These are :

1. — Ownership based on the wealth of society.
2. — Landownership and its use.
3. — Ownership necessary to liberate Man's needs.
4. — Ownership of means of production.

1) OWNERSHIP AND THE WEALTH OF SOCIETY.

In some text, The Green Book has referred to the wealth of the society as limited, and in another text as a store of supply where no one is allowed to take more than the satisfaction of his needs, as the savings which are in excess of one's needs are another person's share of the wealth of society.

We cannot look at the wealth of society as fixed or static because the economic activity in the new socialist society is a productive activity for the satisfaction of material needs. It is not an unproductive activity or an activity which seeks profit. In this way the work of all individuals creates the wealth of the society which in turn can satisfy their needs. On this basis, we can justify the idea of public ownership as every individual having an income through work and being a partner. The individual gets what satisfies his needs and does not violate the rights of others. Therefore, private ownership is prohibited because it leads to the exploitation of others. The Green Book has emphasized in many instances that authority, wealth and arms should be controlled by the people.

2) LAND OWNERSHIP AND ITS USE.

Land is no one's property, but everyone has the right to use it, to benefit from it by working, farming or pasturing. This would take place throughout a man's life and the lives of his heirs, and would be through his own effort without using others, with or without wages, and only to the extent of satisfying his needs.

However, the farmer has to follow the economic objectives of society and agricultural planning against all the facilities provided to him by society such as credits and other free services. The use of land (especially agricultural land) in the Third Universal Theory is characterised by two facts :

A) Production reverts to the user of land, provided it is not contrary to the objectives of the society and to satisfy needs. Agricultural products should not lead to exploitation. Therefore, marketing has to

be in the hands of the society to balance the interests of the parties concerned in agricultural production.

B) Land can be inherited provided that the heirs fulfil all the qualities necessary for using the land. But in case the user of land died without any heirs or they do not satisfy the conditions of using the land, the heirs have the right for compensation against all the investment he put in the land, except the land itself. Land is no one's property.

As the income from land is not exceptionally high in Libya, the taxes to be paid by the user should also correspond with the incomes from other sectors, bearing in mind that the agricultural sector is vital to society. The system in Libya has been aware of the problem of turning land into state property. Experience shows us the failure of systems in which the farmers was turned into a wage-worker. Production declined because of the absence of incentives.

3) OWNERSHIP NECESSARY TO LIBERATE MAN'S NEEDS

The Green Book concentrates on the basic needs that should be controlled by Man such as housing, clothing, vehicle, food and all the necessary things to satisfy his needs. These must be within his private and sacred ownership. They are not to be hired from any quarter. To obtain them through rent or hire allows the real owners, even society in general, to interfere with his private life, to have control over his basic needs and then to dominate his freedom and deprive him of his happiness. On these principles, The Green Book has established the following :

A) THE HOUSE IS FOR ITS RESIDENT

The house is a basic need of both the individual and the family. Therefore, it should not be owned by others. There is no freedom for a man who lives in another's house, whether he pays rent or not. All attempts made by various countries to solve the problem of housing are not solutions at all. The reason is that those attempts do not aim at the radical and ultimate solution of man, which is the necessity of

owning his own house. The attempts have concentrated on the reduction or increase of rent and its standardisation, whether at public or private expense. In the socialist society noone, including the society itself, is allowed to have control over man's need.

The Third Universal Theory attacks the unjust relation between the owner of the house and the tenant as no-one has the right to build a house, additional to his own and that of his heirs, for the purpose of renting it, because the house represents another person's need. Building it for the purpose of rent is an attempt to have control over the need of that man and "in need freedom in latent".

We can conclude by saying that the Third Universal Theory has solved one of the most difficult problems in the world i.e. the housing problem. Apart from "the house for its resident", the law guarantees compensation in case of demolishing houses for public utility.

B) THE VEHICLE

The vehicle is a necessity both to the individual and the family. The individual's vehicle should not be owned by others. In the socialist society no man or any other authority can possess private vehicles for the purpose of hiring them out, for this is domination of the needs of others. There are two kinds of vehicles :

a) Private vehicles, such as bicycles, cars, or any other means of transport that can be invented in future. Such a vehicle has to be used for personal or family transport and not to be hired. Therefore, individuals can own such vehicles. The law has not specified a limited number of vehicles.

b) Public vehicles, such as aeroplanes, ships and trains should be owned by the society. As it is not practical for private use, it is used by the public, but what the individuals have to pay against their use should not exceed the actual running cost.

C) THE INCOME.

The income is an imperative need for man. Thus the income of any man in the society should not be a wage from any source or a charity

from anyone. For there are no wage-workers in the socialist society, only partners. Income is a form of private ownership. The individual manages it by himself either to meet his needs or to share in the production, where he is one of its main factors. His share will not be used as a wage paid for any person in return for production.

Man in the new society works for himself to guarantee his material needs, or works for a socialist corporation in whose production he is a partner or performs a public service to the society which provides his material needs. Differences in individual income are only permissible for those who render a public service. The society allocates for them a certain share of the wealth equivalent to that service. The share of individuals only differs according to the public service each of them renders and as much as he produces.

Thus, the new socialist society is no more than a dialectical consequence of the unjust relations prevailing in this world. It has produced the natural solution, namely private ownership to satisfy the needs without using others, and socialist ownership, in which the producers are partners in production. The socialist ownership replaced a private ownership based on the production of wage-workers who had no right in what they produced. This leads us to discuss the ownership of the means of production.

D) OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION.

We referred previously that the personal use of land has a central position between the wealth of society and private ownership. At the moment, the idea of establishing farms owned by the people is under consideration where the rules and criteria, that we will discuss later in respect of the ownership of the means of production, would be applied. There are three types of ownership of the means of production in the Jamahiriya : private enterprise where an individual works for himself or with his family, productive enterprise owned by partners (productive companies) and a corporation owned by the people (society) whether productive or services. The question is how to combine these three types of ownership and eliminate exploitation and domination ?

a) Private ownership

The Third Universal Theory allows private ownership of certain means of production, provided that such economic activity does not exploit others. Private enterprises are allowed to perform economic activities, and even provided with loans and credit facilities on two conditions :

1. — The activity must be productive and for the satisfaction of needs and without exploiting any individual. Trading activity is prohibited because the relation between the producer and the consumer would involve exploitation and realising profits, and this is not allowed in the socialist system.

2. — The producers in the enterprise must participate in the management and production. Each should have his share in production according to his effort. The objective of the enterprise has to correspond with the development programmes and plans.

b) The Ownership of a socialist corporation.

The mobilisation of the material, spiritual and human resources in a practical, scientific and human way requires the control of the economic activity, especially development plans and the liberation of Man's needs. Therefore, socialist corporations must be owned by the society.

Services, including trade, must be run by the people. The economic productive activities are financed by society as private capital cannot invest huge funds for development. The question is, how can we guarantee that the state ownership is not going to create bureaucracy that exploit the producers ? There are two criteria by which we guarantee that injustice will never occur.

1. — In countries where private and public sectors exist, there is a separation between capital and management. The state appoints the managers in the public sector because it owns the capital. While in the Jamahyria, the producers are the ones who elect those who run the productive or services corporations. This is the popular committee.

2. — In the traditional systems, production reverts to the capitalist and the workers are paid wages. But the Third Universal Theory considers wage as an unjust relation, where the wage-worker is paid part of his production ; the rest goes to the capitalist, "wage is a kind of enslavement". Production in the productive corporations is distributed among its main factors.

However, The Green Book not only solves the problem of material production, but also prescribes the comprehensive solution of the problems of human society so that the individual may be materially and spiritually liberated... a final liberation to attain his happiness. The Third Universal Theory is a herald to the masses announcing the final salvation from all fetters of injustice, despotism, exploitation and economic and political hegemony. It has the purpose of establishing the society of all people, where all men are free and equal in authority, wealth and arms, so that freedom may gain the final and complete triumph.

The Solution of the Economic Problem through the Organisation of Production based on the Premise of Partners not Wage-Workers.

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THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM : DEFINITION AND ORIGIN

Every human being has needs for products and services. These needs can be divided into :

A — Biological needs such as food, clothes and a house.

B — Needs related to his role in life such as education, health and means of communication.

We have to differenciate between need and desire, as the latter is related to the psychological aspects of Man and, therefore, difficult to identify. While needs can be identified, though are influenced by various factors the most important of which is the era in which Man lives, e.g. the human needs of the twentieth century are different from those of the nineteenth century.

The satisfaction of needs is related to the economic problem represented by the relative scarcity of the factors of producing products and services necessary to satisfy all the human needs. The economic problem will never exist if all members of the society satisfied all their needs, whatever they are. As the means of satisfying these needs (the factors of production, labour, raw material and capital) are characterised by their relative scarcity, the economic problem still exists. Economic systems vary in their approaches to solve the economic problem. Each system attempts to solve this problem in its own way according to its philosophy, culture and heritage. In other words, every economic system tries to answer the following questions :

(1) What are the products to be produced ? In what quantity ?

(2) How are these products produced ?

(3) For whom are they produced ? How are products and services distributed in the society ?

THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY AND THE SOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

The Third Universal Theory aims at achieving human freedom and happiness. This theory has made it clear that Man cannot be happy unless he is free. His happiness requires his emancipation from all restrictions and riding of all obstacles that stand in his way towards

freedom. The Third Universal Theory deals with the problems that hinder human freedom in three aspects and finds practical solutions for them. These aspects are :

(1) The political aspect.
(2) The economic aspect.
(3) The social aspect.

It is worth noticing that The Green Book (Part Two) has looked at the economic problem in a way different from the capitalist or the communist viewpoint. The economic problem, as The Green Book looks at it, is not represented by the scarcity of resources or the diversity of needs, as the traditional thinking believes. The problem of scarcity of resources, although very important, does not concern the founder of the Third Theory when analysing the economic problem. The concentration in The Green Book is primarily on the unjust relationship between the employer and the wage-worker and the relationship of ownership.

Part Two of The Green Book has stated that important historical developments have taken place which contribute to solving the problem of work and wages i.e. the relationship between workers and employers, between the producers and the owners. The developments include fixed working-hours, wages for additional work, different types of leave, minimum wages, profit sharing and participation in administration. In addition, arbitrary dismissal has been outlawed and social security has been guaranteed, along with the right to strike and whatever other provisions are found in almost all modern labour laws. Of no less significance are the changes in the field of ownership such as emergence of systems limiting income or outlawing private ownership and transferring it to the state.

Despite all these developments in the history of the economic problem, nevertheless the problem still basically exists. The modifications, improvements, provisions and other measures have made the problem less severe that it was in past centuries.

Yet the economic problem — according to The Green Book — has not been solved. All the attempts which have concentrated on ownership have not solved the problem of producers (workers). They are still wage-workers, even when ownership has been transferred from extreme right (unlimited private ownership) to the extreme right (state ownership).

THE BASIS OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

According to Part Two of The Green Book, the economic system is to be based on :

(1) Liberation of needs for the liberation of Man ("in need freedom is latent").

(2) Abolishing the society of wage-workers to establish a society of partners.

(3) Elimination of exploitation.

(4) Organising ownership.

(5) Equality among factors of production.

(6) The aim of economic activity is the production for the satisfaction of needs.

On the basis of these objectives, the purpose of the new socialist society is to create a society which is happy because it is free. This can be achieved through satisfying the material and spiritual needs of Man, and that, in turn, comes about through the liberation of these needs from outside domination and control. Satisfaction of these needs must be attained without exploiting or enslaving others, or else, it will contradict.

THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW SOCIALIST SOCIETY. TYPES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

We have seen that economic activity in the new socialist society is a productive activity for the satisfaction of material needs. Such satisfaction can be achieved as follows :

A) If an individual works for himself to satisfy his material needs without employing others. In this case, the return of his work reverts to him and therefore, he has the right to manage it in any way he likes.

The same thing applies in case of an individual sharing with others in performing a productive process such as a group of engineers together with a group of producers forming an enterprise. They participate in the instrument of production and carry out the productive process and naturally share the profit according to each part in

production without employer-worker relationship, but all are partners in production.

B) If an individual is incapable of work-being handicapped or of old-age, the society guarantees the satisfaction of his needs.

C) If an individual renders a public service to the society in the field of education or health, for example, the society should guarantee the satisfaction of his needs through allocating a wage for him.

D) If an individual works for a socialist corporation for which society provided its capital and raw-material necessary for production and where production is divided equaly among the three factors of production : capital, raw-material and producers. The reason for being three factors is that if we analyse the economic factors from ancient times till now, we always find that they are composed of these essentials : raw-materials, an instrument of production and a producer.

As long as each factor is essential and fundamental, they are all equal in their essential character within the process of production. The encroachment of one factor on another is opposed to the natural rule of equality, and is an attack on the right of others.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTION AMONG ITS FACTORS

To illustrate the way production is distributed among its factors according to the premise of "partners not wage-workers" we give the following example :

A socialist corporation achieved 45 000 L.D. profit and the instrument of production, raw-material and the producers have participated in the productive process.

According to the distribution rule mentioned in Part Two of The Green Book each factor of the three shall have a third of the production as follows :

Instrument of production share (machine)	15 000 L.D.
Rawmaterial share	15 000 L.D.
Producers' share	15 000 L.D.

As the instrument of production and rawmaterial are owned by the society, their share in production reverts to the society, while the third is for the producers who took part in production so as to be distributed among them.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCERS' SHARE

The participation in the productive process differs from one individual to another according to his experience, qualification, nature of work and other factors that might increase the productive abilities of such individuals.

As differences among individuals lead to differences in the participation of each in production, and as 'he who produces is the one who consumes', distribution of the share of workers has to be to each according to his participation in production.

EXAMPLE

To calculate the share of each individual in the production of a socialist corporation, all factors that lead to different productive ability of all individuals must be taken into consideration. Referring to the previous example, we find that the producers' share amounted to 15 000 L.D. If we assume that the number of producers is five, then to distribute their share among them in a just way we follow this formula :

$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots + b_nX_n$

where :

Y = producers' share in production.

a = instalment paid to the producers monthly before dividing the outcome among them at the end of the financial year, then deducted from their share (it is suggested to be equivalent to the minimum waage paid to those in the public services).

b_1 = factor indicates the percentage of participation of the producer in production.

X_1 = The value of the worker's participation in production (e.g. education) and the rest of the factors that participated in production.

The practical application of this method is as follows :

1) indicate the factors that affect the productivity of each individual and which in turn differs from one person to another such as education, experience, workplace, ability to work etc.

X_1, X_2, X_3

2) indicate the participation of each factor. This can be performed through Popular Congresses which have the authority to assign such task to a technical committee.

(A) Suppose a corporation has (X) of producers where $X = 5$ producers.

(B) Suppose that the factors affecting production are :

Education, Ability to work, Experience

X_1 X_2 X_3

(C) Indicate the participation of these factors in production as explained above and suppose they are as follows :

Education 40 % Ability to work 30 % Experience 30 %

(X_1) (X_2) (X_3)

(D) Suppose that the producers' share is L.D. 15 000.

(E) The outcome of X_1, X_2, X_3 is divided according to each individual's participation after deducting the monthly instalments and suppose it is 5 000.

Then,

Education has participated by $\frac{40 \times 10\,000}{100}$ = L.D. 4 000.

and

The ability to work = $\frac{30 \times 10\,000}{100}$ = L.D. 3 000.

and

Experience = $\frac{30 \times 10\,000}{100}$ = L.D. 3 000.

To divide the outcome among the producers we follow the first formula.

IDENTIFYING THE COEFFICIENT

To indentify the coefficient, we use the following method :

Education = 5 producers in a corporation, where :

Producer N°. 1 10 Years of study

Producer N°. 2 10 Years of study

Producer N°. 3 15 Years of study

Producer N°. 4 15 Years of study

Producer N°. 5 0 Years of study

$$0.20 \ldots\ldots \%\ 20 = \frac{10 \times 100}{50} = b_{11}$$

$$0.20 \ldots\ldots \%\ 20 = \frac{10 \times 100}{50} = b_{12}$$

$$0.30 \ldots\ldots \%\ 30 = \frac{15 \times 100}{50} = b_{13}$$

$$0.30 \ldots\ldots \%\ 30 = \frac{15 \times 100}{50} = b_{14}$$

$$0.00 \ldots\ldots \%\ 0 = \frac{0 \times 100}{50} = b_{15}$$

The outcome which education has participated in shall be divided among the producers according to the coefficient of each as follows : The share of each producer from education (N°. 1) =
$x_1\ b_1 = 4\,000 \times 0.20 =$ L.D. 800
the shares of the other producers are calculated in the same way.

The same method is applied on the rest of the factors and the share of the producers is calculated as in the previous example.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THIS METHOD

On applying this method, we notice :

1) New basis has been laid down for the distribution of the outcome among the producers which is considered as the main incentive for production : the more production one achieves, the more income ones get.

2) Just distribution of outcome among the producers each according to his production.

3) The existence of incentives to encourage the producers to increase their ability of production through increasing efficiency and skill.

4) This method is applicable on all corporation where coefficients can be adapted according to the participation of factors and their

importance in the production. Education, for example, could be increased as production needs more experience.

5) It helps the producers to settle in their units, thus increasing their abilities for production.

It is recommended that there have to be minimum as well as maximum incomes for those in socialist corporations. The minimum income can be decided according to the value of (a) and in pursuance to the minimum and maximum incomes of the salary scale applicable in the country. The socialist society guarantees the satisfaction of its individuals' needs where production is tied to the material needs : "Saving in excess of one's needs is another person's need".

CONCLUSION

The rule provided by the Third Universal Theory in respect of the distribution of production is an easy rule to apply, it can be achieved in complete harmony with the premises of this theory and also matches the rule of (He who produces is the one who consumes). This can be achieved through the appropriate application of this rule and the system provided by Third Universal Theory.

The Concept of Savings in the Socialist System

D[r] Maysam Saheb Ajam.

THE CONCEPT OF SAVINGS IN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The new socialist system is based on the ideas stated in Part Two of the Third Universal Theory ; the solution to the economic problem.

The main objective of the Theory is happiness of Man through satisfying his needs and the liberation of these needs from outside domination and control, whether direct or indirect. The new system calls for the return to the natural laws which are the sole criterion of human relationships. Natural laws led to natural socialism based on equality among economic factors of production and have almost brought about, among individuals, consumption equal to nature's production.

The Green Book, Part Two, mentioned the relationship between savings and needs in the following points :

1) The Concept of need and its relationship with savings.
2) The origin of surplus and the possibilities of individual savings.
3) Savings which are in excess of one's needs are another person's share of wealth of society.
4) Socialist savings.

1) THE CONCEPT OF NEED AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH SAVINGS

Needs are goods and services and could be satisfied through performing a reasonable economic activity that differs from one individual to another and also from one society to another according to the technological and social development of that society.

If needs are different in quality, they are also different in quantity according to the nature of individuals, their tastes, customs, traditions, and their pattern of consumption and the relation between the quantity required and the size of the family. The needs vary in respect of the time of satisfaction and the size of the family, as there are immediate needs and future needs. At first, the family needs a small house and as the number of the members of the family increases the need for a larger house arises and there may be a need for a bigger car or cars. Houses or cars for the married children, may also be needed, in

addition to other consumer goods. Hence, the individual can only satisfy his future needs through savings.

The size of the family plays a big role in determining expenditure. Field studies have shown that if the family size increases by one, the ottal expenditure will increase by 16,6 %. On this basis the more dependency the family has, the more expenditure it will have and the possibilities of savings are reduced. Therefore, the size of the family is one of the main reasons of the increase in family expenditure. Due to this fact the possibilities of savings and capital accumulation vary among individuals in the case of equal incomes.

Because needs vary, expenditure varies, too. Therefore, it is difficult to find two families spend their incomes in the same way. They allocate certain proportions of their incomes to satisfy certain needs.

2) THE ORIGIN OF SURPLUS AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF INDIVIDUAL SAVINGS

The Third Universal Theory calls for equality, but not a simple form (equality of income and the satisfaction of needs). It allows diversity of incomes according to the capability of production (goods and services) for each individual. Differences in individual wealth are permissible according to the public services each of them renders, and as much as one produces. Therefore, the individual who works longer hours and studies more and is capable of rendering better services to society and consequently has more responsibility, should have more income. The criterion of difference of income is production. For example, an individual who works for 8 hours would get more income than one who works only 5 hours. On this assumption a doctor's income is more than that of a nurse or lab-assistant, also a university professor earns more than a preparatory school teacher. So, the difference in income depends on qualification, experience and responsibility.

With the variation of incomes among individuals, and the assumption of equal average of consumption per person, a high income can realise a surplus more than one's needs to satisfy his future needs.

Surplus can originate if all the members of one family has an income, provided that consumption per individual is equal. Then such family can afford a surplus to be used for future purposes. As needs

vary, the expenses to satisfy them vary, accordingly. So, surplus is a natural outcome of the diversity of income, the size of the family and the pattern of consumption and expenditure. Popular congresses have fixed the salaries of certain categories of the society (doctors or engineers) according to their experience and responsibilities, at a minimum and maximum scale. In the case of equal experience and responsibilities, they receive equal monthly salaries regardless of their family sizes, degree of dependency or the pattern of family consumption (1). It is illogical to pay someone less because he is single or he has no children. As the size of the family differs (single or married without children) as well as the pattern of consumption, some of the individuals of this category can save part of their income to satisfy their future needs (material or non-material).

In this case they save the part of their share allocated to them by the society and have not taken others shares, or exploited others through their savings with the aim of trading and making profit.

Part Two of The Green Book emphasised the freedom of individuals to save where the following concepts have been mentioned :

— Individuals only have the right to save as much as they want from their own needs.

— The skillful and industrious can benefit from these advantages to satisfy their needs and save from these needs.

— "Every individual can save what he likes from his share, using his skill and talents.

— Every individual has the right to save from his needs and from his own production but not from the efforts of others, not at the expense of their needs.

From this, we deduce that Third Universal Theory does not oppose individual savings from his own immediate needs to satisfy future ones, provided such savings do not exploit others.

3) SAVINGS WHICH ARE IN EXCESS OF ONE'S NEEDS ARE ANOTHER PERSON'S SHARE OF THE WEALTH OF SOCIETY

Apart from individual savings that aim at satisfying future needs, there is another kind of savings which aim at increasing profits through the exploitation of others.

The employer exploits his labour force through the increase of working hours and by paying them less wages than the value of the actual production. In this way he can realise a surplus for himself that he uses to expand his business. Also a merchant exploits his monopolistic position and the need of the individuals for basic goods, by reducing supply and increasing the prices many times to make extra income for himself. Then he consumes part of it and saves the rest to expand his enterprise or even transfer it to other sectors such as real estate, agriculture, services, or construction.

This kind of savings does not originate from the immediate needs for future ones, but savings that have been accumulated by an employer or merchant through the exploitation of others. The major part of the savings revert to the individuals whom he had exploited through his strong economic position. In this way he achieved more than his needs and deprived others from obtaining their needs. This kind of savings has no place in the Third Universal Theory where it was stated :

"Economic activity in the new socialist society is productive activity for the satisfaction of material needs. It is not unproductive activity or an activity which seeks profit in order, after satisfying material needs, to save the surplus. That is impossible under the rules of the new socialism.

The legitimate purpose of the individual's economic activity is solely to satisfy his needs. Therefore, to permit private production to achieve 'a surplus', and to permit exploitation of other individuals,... is exploitation itself".

4) SOCIALIST SAVINGS

The material and non-material welfare that developed societies are enjoying today is due to capital accumulation that these societies have increased year after year since the end of the 19th century. These accumulations resulted from sacrifice and exploitation of others, by depriving individuals from consuming, to increase savings to finance investments, the basis of increasing production of goods and services. This is the circle linking the various communities, reducing immediate consumption leads to increasing stocks of commodities. Investments, in the economic sense, are transforming money saved by the national economy to services. There are two kinds :

1) Substitute investments to compensate exhaustion and consumption of fixed capital in use.

2) New investments aiming at expansion and development (including investments in the economic infrastructure, roads, communication, public health, education, defence etc...)

The question now is how to finance these two kinds of investments, and what kind of savings can be relied upon ? Individual savings directed by banks could be considered as a source of financing investments in the socialist society. But this kind of savings is unreliable because of its small amount and the dependency on the choice of individuals and their circumstances. Therefore, the savings of socialist enterprises are the main source of financing investments.

Socialist savings are composed of the share of the society in the Gross National Product, i.e. the total production of the society of goods and services.

Theoretically we can use the law of the diminishing returns to explain this.

(A) THE THEORETICAL ASPECT OF SOCIALIST SAVINGS

If we apply the law of diminishing returns (marginalism) as a basis for the distribution of production among the factors of production (land as a unit of a fixed area, work, equipment, and various growing units and assuming that the technical level is unchangable), we find that the total production increases with the increase of working units and equipment, to reach a point where production fails . . 1). But it is still possible to increase total production to reach the peak (B) where the marginal production is zero.

The process of distributing production among factors of production in this case varies from one society to another.

In the tribal society, the total production is destributed equally among all individuals who participated in production i.e. each individual receives the quantity CD (see figure 2). In this example the total production is consumed, nothing is left to be saved in order to develop agriculture or production. Therefore, the level of production is low, and the society is vulnerable to crises and disasters leading to the decline of animal and agricultural production.

(B) THE PRACTICAL ASPECT OF THE SOCIALIST SAVINGS

Socialist savings could be practically accomplished according to the following ways :

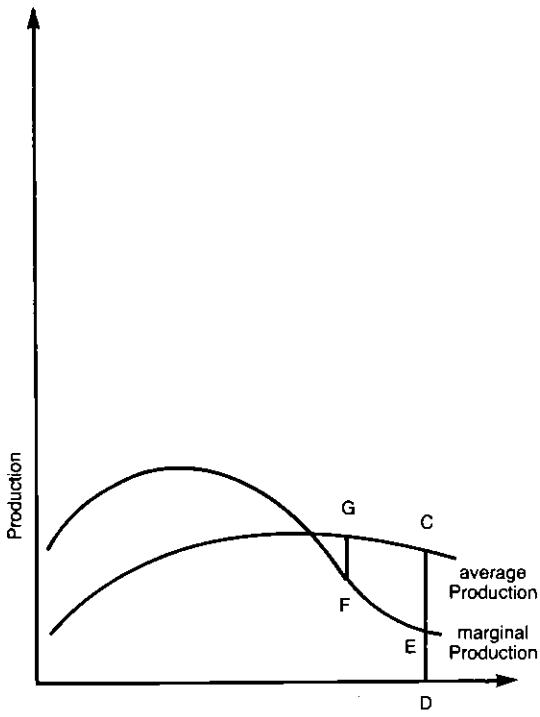
EXAMPLES :

a) A socialist farm where a number of farmers are employed on the basis of equal distribution of production on the factors of production, which in this case are five : producer, land, water-pump and its equipment, seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, equipment and buildings.

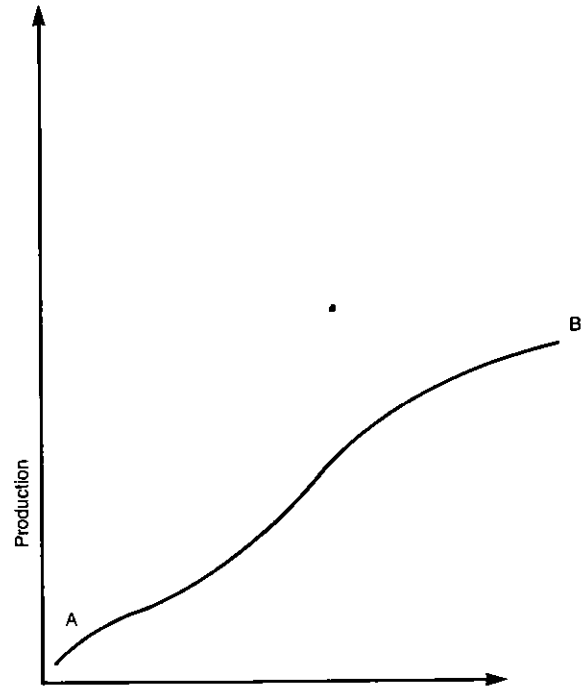
On this basis, the producers receive 1/5 of the production and after deducting the cost of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides and other current expenses from the total production value of the remaining (net) will be distributed among three factors of production : "The producers, land and the fixed capital". As the land does not belong to any one, the state treasury receives this share. If the socialist enterprises provide machines and equipment, then this share has to revert to them to cover the substitutes investments (exhaustion and depreciation of the fixed capital), in addition to new investments for farm expansion and improving production.

Wages are paid in the capitalist system on the basis of marginal production, the quantity (de) and the remaining (ec) which represents the share of the landowner, who can only consume his share by buying consumer goods and services, or save a proportion to be invested in agriculture or any other economic sector with a high return.

The equal distribution of the total product among the factors of production according to the Third Universal Theory will increase the producers' share, while the other two shares become equal. (fg) (figure 2). As land does not belong to any one, this share will revert to the masses to be invested in introducing modern technology and increasing the production of land. In this way, the level of production will increase together with the share of both the individual and the masses.



Working Units and equipment
(Figure 2)



Working Units and equipment
(Figure 1)

As for the first share of land, it will be used to finance other socialist investments ; education, health and general services etc...) and the settlement of the annual sectorial expenditure. The third share is to be distributed among the producers themselves.

b) A factory where producers work on the basis of partners not wage-workers and equaly share the net production together with the factors of production and in this case they are : the labour force, the fixed capital and raw material. As the socialist corporations provide the capital, and the raw material, they get two shares of the total production. Even if the cost of raw material is deducted from the total value, the corporations will get the share of the fixed capital. This share is considered socialist savings for investment.

c) There are several service corporations such as insurance and construction companies, banks, hotels, transport companies rendering services to the society and in return achieve enormous savings. These savings are considered socialist savings that cover deficit or losses of other service corporation, and also finance investments in other economic sectors.

d) If the farmer owns the land, and he and his family work full time and also owns the fixed capital of the farm, and does not receive anything from the socialist corporations except services (extension services), this farmer can keep his entire production.

As society offers him and his family social services (health, education, entertainment), as well as social security in case of old age or being handicapped, it is necessary to levy taxes on his income corresponding with his income and the satisfaction of his family needs.

The same for families who own small factories or perform a profession in the service field, taxes levied represent the share of the masses from the family production.

(C) THE ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST CORPORATION IN INCREASING SAVINGS

Socialist corporations render many services to the society either directly or indirectly. These services are not only limited to education, health, roads and communications, but also buildings, security

services and defence. All these services need new investments and financing.

Apart from the oil sector and its huge revenues which facilitate financing investments, we could say that socialist corporations have the ways and means to increase their revenues and savings to finance the investments through using monetary and financial policies which aim at limiting the volume of individual consumption on one side and increase savings and capital reserve on the other.

These policies can be summed up as follows :

(1) The increase of prices of consumer goods (compulsory savings)

Prices have a direct relationship with the volume of expenditure and determine the proportion allocated for savings. If prices increase while income stays fixed or increases slightly, then expenditure will increase and the proportion of savings will decrease, and the contrary happens when prices go down.

As socialist corporations sell consumer goods at lower prices than the actual costs, (the society subsidies the difference between the acutal costs), these corporations could increase the prices of consumer and luxury goods, so as to achieve a surplus to cover the deficit which results from the subsidy of basic goods. The remaining will be considered as compulsory savings to finance investments. The aim of increasing the price of fuel is to lower the demand for it and to finance the investments in the substituted energy. Apart from achieving huge savings, these corporations can use modern techniques to reduce the costs of production and stabilize consumer goods.

(2) The increase of Taxes and Dues

The main purpose of levying taxes is to cover the needs of socialist corporations. There are direct and indirect taxes. The direct impact of taxes on income is to reduce the amount of money circulating among individuals, while indirect taxes increase the prices of goods needed by individuals. Therefore, the impact is the same in respect of expenditure and individual savings.

CONCLUSION

The main objective of the Third Universal Theory is individual happiness through attaining his freedom and satisfying his material and spiritual needs, and liberating them from the control of others. Food, clothes, houses and vehicles are the basic needs of the individual and his family and should not be controlled by others. Needs, in the economic sense, are the individuals' needs for goods and services, which he tries to satisfy through performing economic activities, varying in quantity and quality. They are not absolute but relative, because they vary according to the nature of the individuals, their tastes, customs, traditions and their pattern of consumption. It is not easy to decide when individuals can satisfy their needs. The size of the family plays also a role in determining expenditure. The Third Universal Theory allows the diversity of income according to the capacity of each individual in production. Production is the criterion that determines the difference in income. This difference should be based on qualification experience of the degree of responsibility.

As needs vary, expenditure varies, too. The surplus, then, is accumulated from the immediate needs and is considered a natural outcome of the difference in income, the size of the family and the patterns of consumption and expenditure.

The individual has the right to save his surplus within his immediate needs, and save an amount that he could afford from his own income without violating others' needs.

The Third Universal Theory does not oppose individual savings. But if savings are used to increase profits by exploiting others, then it opposes it.

Savings in the socialist society means a new system emphasising the return to the natural law which produced natural socialism based on equality, in which production is divided on equal bases among the factors of production which contributed in production.

Producers' in a socialist farm, where production is divided on equal basis among the factors of production, receive 1/3 of the total production, materials (land, seeds, fertilizers, pesticides) receive the second 1/3 of the production. The last 1/3 is to return the share of the fixed capital (machinery, buidings that represent means of production).

Even in the case of deducting the cost of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and fuel as well as other current expenses, the net value of production will be equally distributed among the three factors of production. As the land belongs to nobody, its share is reverted to the state treasury, but if the farm belongs to a socialist corporation, then it receives the second share of the production that belongs to the capital. These two shares can be saved for new or substitute investments, or developing infrastructure. But private farms, small factories and other small services, where the producer owns the land or equipment (or factory) and he and his family work full time, do not receive any assistance from socialist corporations except social services (health and education)... he has the right to keep his total production.

but he still has dues towards his society because society offers him social services. Therefore, he should pay taxes corresponding to his income and his needs and the size of his family.

These taxes represent the share of the masses in the production and are considered as indirect savings for the socialist corporations. Many of these corporations receive many funds from different sources where they are used to counter deficit of service corporations or to undertake new investments.

Socialist corporations have ways and means to increase their savings to enable them to create a reserve capital and finance investments, either by increasing the prices of consumer goods (compulsory savings) or by using new techniques to reduce the costs of production and to stabilise the prices of products.

The third way is to levy taxes and duties to cover the needs of the service corporations themselves, if it is necessary.

NOTE

(1) Salaries might differ slightly due to children allowances, but the basic salaries are the same.

Investment in the New Socialist System

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This study will discuss the different means of distributing new instruments and the specifications according to which they are allocated to the development projects under the new socialist system.

1) IMPORTANCE OF INVESTMENTS

Investments play an important role in financing economic development. The more investments are available, the more production capacity increases in the national economy ; the more real production increases, the more the monetary national income increases the average per capita share in the national income, which in turn increases the purchase power of individuals, and therefore leads to the rise in the level of satisfaction of their needs and of the economic welfare. This is the aim of any economist.

This series of effects however takes place under a number of assumptions, the most important being :

1) Availability of a certain amount of real savings which would be sufficient to finance the projected investments.

2) Availability of investment opportunities so that investment returns do not fall below a certain level.

3) Stability of price level.

4) Increase of real income at a higher rate than population increase.

We shall limit our study to the sources of real savings and the different means of increasing them to finance an appropriate level of investment, as far as the absorptive capacity of the Jamahiriya economy is concerned.

2) INVESTMENT FINANCING

As we said above, investments are financed by saving which means abstention from consumption. Therefore, the capacity of financing the required investments depends to a large extent on the readiness of people to sacrifice their actual consumption for the sake of future consumption.

This level of readiness is governed by a number of economic and psychological elements, the most important of which may be the level of national income.

What explains poverty in developing countries may be poverty itself. This is called the vicious circle of poverty. Poor countries cannot at the present time allocate part of their income to the accumulation of capital because people in these countries have not yet satisfied their essential needs. This leads to the decrease of net capital and therefore the decrease of national income and of the satisfactory power of people. As far the Jamahiriya, is concerned, we can say that the discovery of petroleum and its export have broken the vicious circle of poverty which prevailed in this country during the sixties. The following are the major sources of savings necessary for the new investments in the Jamahiriya society :

a) Society's savings which are made up of :

1) *SURPLUS TAX AND LOAN INCOME*

Savings can be increased here by :

— imposing more taxes. It should be noted that taxes constitute the compulsory savings in society, although it is not usually desirable to finance new investments by imposing more taxes, since the actual generation is the one which bears the burden, while the beneficiaries will only be the following generations. Yet this source of finances can be used in the new socialist society to finance the type of instruments whose payback period is not very long.

— Borrowing from producers and private sector entrepreneurs.

— Reducing public spending by reducing spending and not by decreasing the services provided.

2) Shares in society's public treasury in return for the provision of part of the means of production to public enterprises.

3) Treasury income from petroleum income after payment of the shares of the means of production to ensure future generations' rights.

b) Private savings which are made up of :

1) Voluntary savings by producers. As we have seen, one of the characteristics of the new socialist system is that it allows the individual to save from his needs and not after he has satisfied all his needs because savings which are in excess of one's needs are another person's share of the wealth of society.

2) Voluntary savings by private entrepreneurs. The new socialist society gives the individual the right to work for himself to satisfy his own material needs provided he does not exploit others to satisfy his needs. Farmers, whitesmiths and metal workers are examples of this.

c) Emergency reserves in public projects :

As we have said above, the most important sources of these reserves are :

1) A percentage in the share of means of production in the added value made by the project during a previous period. We can say in this context that the percentage of the producers share in the added value which is added to the reserves, constitutes a compulsory saving. But this is not in contradiction with the objective of the new socialist society because these savings ultimately aim at increasing the production capacity of society, as they participate in the financing of new investment.

d) Pension saving

These are social security instalments paid by producers to the social security department in addition to the instalments paid by the insured to the insurers according to the contracts concluded between both partners. In this case, insurance is based on the theory of probability. At a certain moment, the insurance instalments exceed what the insurer pays to the insured. This surplus can be used at that a time to finance part of the new investment. These investments will definitely have a share in the production they financed.

It may be important to establish a bank specialised in financing new investments where all the savings from the about mentioned sources are transferred. This bank finances new investments either by :

a) Participating in the establishment of new projects ; here the bank would receive a share in the project's output.

b) Giving loans to existing projects which suffer from lack of self financing. Lending should be at a special interest rate which reflects the scarcity in society's wealth and therefore in savings.

Needless to say that this bank should have the technical and managerial skills necessary to carry out its task with the required efficiency.

3) *Investment efficiency*

The most important means to measure the investment efficiency in

capitalism is "profitability". This is done by comparing the marginal efficiency of investment to the expected value of the project's return throughout the project's life.

$$C = \frac{R\ 1}{(1 + MEI)1} + \frac{R\ 2}{(1 + MEI)\ 2} + \ldots + \frac{RI}{(1 + MEI)\ 1}$$

R 1 is the expected return during the first year.
R 2 is the expected return during the second year.
R I is the expected return during the last year of the project.
C is the cost of establishing the project.
MEI is the marginal efficiency of investment.

If the marginal efficiency of investment in a given project is higher that the prevailing interest rate the private investor would carry out that project. But if the prevailing interest rate in higher, the private investor would refuse to undertake the project.

In case of many substitute projects, the comparison between them is based on the net actual rate of return, that is the actual evaluation of the expected rate of return, minus investment cost.

In Marxist systems the comparison between substitute projects is made on the basis of the shortest payback period :

$$\text{payback period} = \frac{\text{cost of investment}}{\text{net average annual profit}}$$

Thus both, capitalism and Marxism base their choice on profit. But since the new socialist system does not recognize profit, new means have to be discovered according to which a comparison between projects can be made. Therefore, the new socialist society has adopted a new method which is comparing the social and economic benefits of a project to its social and economic costs. Thus the major condition to implement any project is at least the equivalence of its social and economic costs. If there are many substitute projects, preference will be given to the one achieving the highest net social and economic benefits.

Among social benefits we can mention the increase of employment and production ; the increase of the rate of growth of the national income ; rise the national consumption and achieving self sufficiency,

etc... Social costs may be increase of pollution or noise. This can be illustrated as follows :

$$\text{Investment } \textit{efficiency} = \frac{\text{marginal social productivity}}{\text{marginal social cost}} = \text{“minum”}$$

Thus investment efficiency in the new socialist society is based on the increase of society's welfare, which is in line with its objective, namely the establishment of the happy society !

The Concept of Economic Planning in the Society of the Jamahiriya : A Comparative Study

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Economic planning is one of the most important methods used today in many countries of the world. But its content and procedure change from one economic system to the other.

The economic system in the Arab Libyan Popular Socialist Jamahiriya gives a new meaning to economic planning as far as decision making is concerned. While decision making is carried out by delegation in other systems, we find that decision making represents the views and aspiration of all people in the society of the Jamahiriya.

DEFINITION OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

Economic planning is becoming more important today as it plays a more significant role in achieving economic and social development in developing countries where the market mechanism failed to reach this objective.

Socialist countries which adopt Marxism have used economic planning since the Second World war and have succeeded to a large extent in achieving development (1).

Economic planning can be defined as a series of means according to which economic law in society are controlled by the human will (2).

This means in fact that the economic units are subject to society's will provided this will is aware and efficient, instead of being controlled by the market mechanism, or by what Adam Smith calls the invisible hand. This latter system is due to the fact that when man aims at achieving personal interest, he can also achieve public interest (3).

Economic planning is a social activity according to which society determines its production and consumption objectives in a co-ordinated way and by taking objective economic laws into consideration ; thus these objectives can be achieved in the best conditions possible (4).

Economic planning can also be defined as that sensible use of society's ressources in order to achieve the social objectives (5).

All these definitions imply that economic planning includes national objectives and the best way of achieving them. In other words, it requires the most efficient use of resources in order to achieve these objectives.

Thus we can say that economic planning is an organisation of production and distribution. Therefore, it differs from the market mechanism prevailing in capitalist systems, used to solve the economic problems there.

Market mechanism was first used to solve the economic problems. Later the planning system was adopted mainly by developing countries as a result of the first failure to achieve the economic development desired by these countries.

What is the market mechanism and what are the causes of its failure ?

MARKET MECHANISM

The market mechanism or the price mechanism is based on the principle of complete competition. But for complete competition to prevail in a market, the following conditions must exist :

1) a large number of buyers and sellers so that none of them can affect market conditions.

2) similar products so that the buyer does not prefer one product to the other and pays a higher price for it.

3) a complete knowledge of what is going on in the market whether by sellers or buyers.

4) no restriction whatsoever to prevail in the market.

Capitalism is originally based on what can be called the personal initiative, and on the freedom of absolute private ownership of means of production with the individual aiming at achieving maximum profit or maximum satisfaction.

Thus each person has to act in such a way as to achieve his personal interest. To do this he has to work at achieving public interest.

Since private ownership of the means of production exists, each man can act freely, which means free production and free consumption.

This means that producers are free to use their resources in such a way as to make maximum profit, and consumers are free to use their income to achieve the maximum satisfaction possible.

This is when the remaining conditions mentioned above interfere to make the producers' and the consumers' desires conform. For

example, if the consumer demand on tea increases more than on coffee, the price of coffe will fall. There will be, therefore, a tendency to produce more tea since it is more profitable. Producers will transfer their resources from coffe to tea production. This goes on until demand equals supply and a price equilibrium is achieved. This is the price at which consumers' demand equals the quantities produced by producers.

It is assumed that this is where the maximum satisfaction of consumers and the maximum profit for producers are achieved.

The price mechanism determines the economic decision and reflects consumers' decisions. This is what is called the consumers' rule (6) as resources are distributed or allocated according to the price mechanism which reflects consumers' whishes.

The allocation of resources to the different fields of production in society takes place according to consumers' wishes. But the partisans of this system say that it does more than that ; it actually leads to the full investment of resources and to their optimum allocation.

According to the traditional theory, the price mechanism works automatically. It therefore leads to the full investment of resources and their optimal allocation to the different fields of production. Furthermore it achieves at the same time maximum profit to producers and maximum satisfaction to consumers.

In case of disorder, mechanical elements lead the system back to equilibrium. The question raised here is : is the optimum situation really achieved, does the price mechanism or the market mechanism lead to the optimum allocation of ressources ?

This is what we shall study next.

FAILURE OF THE MARKET MECHANISM

Actual facts show us that complete competition does not prevail. The optimum situation also does not exist. In other words, the price mechanism or the market mechanism does not lead to the optimum allocation of resources so that society's interests are achieved. This is due to the following reasons :

1) one of the principles of the market mechanism is that it leads to the full employment of resources in society. But this does not actually happen (7). The economic crisis and the sharp crisis of the thirties in particular is a proof of this. Furthermore, unemployment which prevails in many of the countries which adopt this system shows that the full employment of resources is not achieved.

2) A large number of buyers and sellers does not prevail in the market, and especially so in the commodity market, where the number of competing companies decreases and leads to the establishment of monopolies which dominate the market.

These monopolies conclude agreements among each other in order to determine the amounts produced and the prices which lead to the destruction of small companies. Thus, they control the means of production and give their owners the smallest income possible aiming at decreasing cost of production and achieving as much profit as possible (8). This leads to the decrease of the purchase power of most people, and to the accumulation of products due to their high price. An economic crisis occurs, and economic depression prevails.

3) The market mechanism cannot constitute a real perameter of collective commodities such as public services... The increase of the cost of production of such commodities does not encourage the private sector, which is profit oriented, to invest in them. Therefore resources are not directed to such projects despite the large demand on them. The profitability of these commodities is low but the public interest requires them. This shows that the price mechanism cannot be used as a perameter for production and allocation of resources in this case. This can be applied to all infrastructural projects which lack so much in developing countries, and which are usually the basis of any economic development there. These projects require a large amount of capital but their economic return is low. The price mechanism would therefore fail to direct resources to such projects (9).

4) External savings are the difference between the private cost or social cost and the private profit or the social benefit. What is usually taken into consideration is the marginal cost which exceeds private cost and which is not borne by those who carry out the activity but by the others, or by society as a whole. If we leave the market mechanism to determine the evaluation unit in this case, costs will be evaluated at

a lower level than the real value and this will lead to a waste of resources (10).

For all these reasons many societies, even those who adopted the market mechanism system, resort to economic planning to solve the economic problem.

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Capitalist countries started to apply the theory of the State interference to solve the economic problem as the market mechanism failed to do this. The aim of this interference was either to protect individuals in society against monopolies, or to redistribute income. These countries moved from the idea of government interference, to economic planning. They used economic planning as a means of support to the market mechanism (12). Yet some people say that what these countries adopt are not actually economic plans. The economics of these countries are not planified, but are market economics where the final decisions are still made by owners of the means production who aim at achieving profit. Charles Bethelheim says : "the plan in these countries is added to economic mechanisms and laws which have nothing to do with economic planning. Therefore, the plan cannot play a dominant role even if it affects some developments to a small extent" (13).

In spite of the criticism made to the process of planning adopted by capitalist countries, it is, nevertheless, a clear evidence that the market mechanism failed to sustain economic development there or to solve the economic problem.

Economic planning in capitalist countries constitutes a means of support to the market mechanism. These countries actually maintain the private establishments and the private means of production. Planning takes place via enticement (like giving capitalists some assistance so that they agree to implement the plan) and not according to orders. Economic planning in capitalist countries is weak, hesitant and inefficient (14). In fact, many writers believe that is not an economic planning at all, but a linear programming which depends on institutions to organise the economy such as the Committee of

General Planning in France and the Office of Central Planning in Holland. The task of these institutions is to use economic instruments to maintain the capitalist relations in these countries (15), and since means of production are privately owned in these countries, these institutions cannot cover all the sectors of the economy.

Economic planning in capitalist countries can be called "directive" planning. It consists of a number of recommendations to the private sector, with the latter having the right to disregard them if they are countrary to their interests (maximum profit).

We can therefore conclude that economic planning in capitalist countries is a means of support to the price mechanism, and that some say it does not even exist in such countries due to the large private sector and the private ownership of the means of production (16). What should be noted though, is that economic planning has become very important now due to the failure of the price mechanism in capitalist countries. This is why economic planning was introduced ; to assist the price system.

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Economic planning in communist countries is based on the fact that the State owns the means of production, yet the relationship between workers and the State is still a relationship between a wage-earner and an employer.

The Planning Council elaborates the plans which are submitted for approval to a higher administrative body. According to these overall plans, the different ministries and institutions elaborate plans for each sector and determine the responsibilities of production establishments and their projects (17).

Government organisations carry out the planning process through the special planning committees and through administrative organisations which are responsible for all these committees. These committees are responsible to the State's Planning Committee which is the planning centre in the country.

But the State's Planning Committee receives recommendations from the Government and the party which express the aspirations of the masses.

Ministries prepare proposals on the development of the different economic sectors. These proposals are submitted to the State's Planning Committee which elaborates the principal plans for the development of the economy (according to the said recommendations) and submits them to the Government (18).

If the government approves the plans, the State's Planning Committee elaborates the outline of the 5-year plan which is submitted to the Council of Ministers for further modification, if necessary.

One can note here that it is the State's Planning Commitee which elaborates the plans according to the proposals of ministries and according to the government's recommendations. When doing so it acts on behalf of the other high institutions in the country.

The plan becomes effective after its submission to the High Council which discusses it in its different committees, and thereafter issues a law declaring the country's plan for the development of the national economy (19). It can be noted here that planning in the Marxist system (we take the Soviet Union as an example) is mainly based on the fact that the party's circles feel the people's aspirations, and therefore it is they who decide what production is needed and what needs should be satisfied and so on. Such decisions are taken by the Party's Central Committee (the High Council) and are ratified by the Party's Conference.

It can also be noted that in the planning process of this system, a certain category made up of committees, organisations and ministries imposes its views on the people although they may not always be the same (20). This is due to the fact that people do not participate in the elaboration of the plan ; they do not indicate their needs nor the way to satisfy them, since it is assumed that the High Council expresses the needs and aspirations of the people.

PLANNING IN THE SOCIETY OF THE JAMAHIRIYA

We have seen that economic planning in capitalism if it exists, is a means of support to the market mechanism, that is the price mechanism. As for economic planning in Marxism, it reflects the views

and aspirations of a certain category in society made up of the party's committees and the ministries, etc...

In the society of the Jamahiriya, however, authority belongs to the people who are all part of basic popular congresses, which make up the people's committees whose principle function is to implement the resolutions of the popular congresses. The basic popular congresses control the people's committees, which are responsible to them. Each member of the society is a member in the popular congresses.

No one is outside the congresses. No one represents or makes a decision on behalf of anyone.

In order to achieve equality and take the right decision away from any kind of influence, unjust relationships should be abolished, such as the relationship between employers and workers together with all the other aspects enabling a person to dominate another or any social category. This can be realized by establishing a system where workers are partners in production. Thus socialism is achieved, that is, society's wealth is distributed among all people and unjust relations are abolished.

Socialism in the society of the Jamahiriya has also changed the objective of the economic activity. It produces in order to satisfy the needs. No more unproductive economic activity ! No more production for profit ! Savings are made from one's needs and not from an excess made after needs are satisfied.

People in the society of the Jamahiriya can work in a socialist establishment as partners and receive their share in production ; or they can work in a public service and receive an income which would be sufficient to satisfy their needs. A person can also work for himself to satisfy his own needs without using other people ; or he can be physically disabled and in this case society, through social security, is responsible for the satisfaction of his needs.

Economic planning must be applied in such a society as it cannot adopt the price system. But this economic planning is different from the one adopted in capitalism or in Marxism. Decisions are taken by the popular congresses. Thus economic planning derives from the base, that is from all the people who are members in the basic popular congresses. They know their needs and aspirations better than anyone else. Planning in this society truely expresses the masses'

needs directly, because the decision is made by these masses. This is the fundamental difference between planning in the Jamahiriya and planning in capitalism and communism.

The political decision concerning the plan is issued by the basic popular congresses. The plan in its technical form is then elaborated by the people's committees, which are chosen by the basic popular congresses. The working committees of the people's committees in the different districts co-ordinate these decisions from a technical point of view and submit their work to the General People's Congress which coordinates the decisions of all districts.

The people's committees responsible for planning prepares all statistics and dates relating to the different sectors of the economy. They compile this information and submit it to the basic popular congresses.

The most important decisions taken by the basic popular congresses concerning economic planning, are the ones related to investment and to the projects proposed to satisfy society's needs, and to the allocation of funds to the different projects of the plan.

Although the five-year plan's decisions are drafted by specialised committees, yet these committees make the decisions according to the following :

1) The decisions of the basic popular congresses and therefore the recommendations of all people in society. It is not a matter of recommendations made by a high council, or a party, or a certain social category.

2) These committees are actually chosen by the basic popular congresses. The latter supervise the committees'way of executing their decisions.

In case of deviation these congresses have the right to call the committee to account or revoke it.

> People's committees cannot in any way change, by addition or omission, the decisions made by the basic popular congresses.

CONCLUSION

There is a fundamental difference between the economic planning adopted by the capitalist system and the one adopted by the Jamahiriya. Planning in capitalism is a support to the price me-

chanism. The prevailing economic relations in capitalism continue to exist ; private ownership is absolute, ownership of the means of production is free. Thus the objective of economic activity is the search for profit. Resources are not allocated to the basic goods, as profit in these fields is usually small. Yet these goods are required by most people, especially by the poor whose purchase power is low. On the contrary, resources are allocated to luxury goods, required by less people ; but who are rich and whose purchase power is high. Profit does not lead to the optimum distribution of investments.

In the society of the Jamahiriya, planning is completely different as the objective of the economic activity, is the increase of production and the satisfaction of the people's needs. Furthermore, the planning method is based on new economic relations.

It is also different from the planning method adopted by communism, where the party's Central Committee decides the type of production, the distribution of investments, the choice of projects and the type of needs to be satisfied first. The views and aspirations of large social categories are not taken into consideration. Planning in the Jamahiriya however, takes the views and aspirations of each member of the society into consideration. Each person is a member of one of the basic popular congresses which take all planning decisions and choose the people's committees which execute these decisions.

NOTES

(1) Abdel Dader M. Abou Dakai : "Economic Planning a method of administration in national Economy". El Mousel 1979, p. 3.
(2) Abdel Kader M. Abou Dakai : op cit. *p. 28*
(3) Abdel Kader M. Abou Dakai : op. cit. *p. 28*
(4) Charles Balhim : "Economic Planning and development" dar el Maaref, Egypt 1966, p. 10 — 11,
(5) Amir Mohieldine : "Development and Economic Planning", dar el mahde, Beirut 1972, p. 251
(6) Partisans of this system say that the consumer's rule is based on the fact that the preferences of society as a whole are deducted from individuals' preferences. Yet one should look at the disparity in the distribution of income which prevails in society and which makes certain people more powerful due to their purchase capacity than the remaining people in society. Low income people do not play a role in determining production unless the State interferes to redistribute income... Advertisement also affects consumers and makes them prefer private products rather than collective ones (4).

(7) Amir Mohieldin op. cit.
(8) Amir Mohieldin : op. cit. p. 24
(9) Amir Mohieldin op. cit. p. 24
(10) Abdel Fattah Kandil : "Plannified Economies" Maktabet el Gharib, Cairo, p. 90
(11) "Economic Planning" translated by Gavad M Abdel Halim p. 51
(12) Economic planning has been used in France, Holland and Japan.
(13) Charles Bethelheim : op. cit. p. 8
(14) Mohame Gohied : "Economic Planning" sec. Edition 1967, Egypt p. 14
(15) Group of Economists from faculty of Economics, Moscow : "Economic Planning"
(16) Group of economists, faculty of Economics, Moscow : op. cit.
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(6) Mohamed Hogeir "Economic Planning", 2nd edition, Anglo Egyptian Library, Cairo 1967.
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(9) Muammar Qathafi : "The Green Book" second Part.
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Motivations and Incentives : A Comparative Study

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INTRODUCTION

The problem of motivations and incentives has always been concomitant of the capitalist system and it will continue to exist as long as there are the exploiters and exploited. The capitalists and employers in this system seize most of the production and give the workers a little of their production. In spite of the enormous developments that took place to narrow the gap between employers and workers, (by reducing workings hours, increasing social security, improving working conditions and issuing legislations to protect the workers), they were reforming solutions, rather than radical ones.

The Western Countries came up with the concept of collective bargaining where employers and workers sit at the negotiating table to discuss matters relating working hours, wages or working conditions.

With the emergence of the Marxist doctrine, the condition of the workers has not improved. The exploiter instead of being an employer or a capitalist, was replaced by the government or the public sector. The condition of the workers has remained the same without any tangible change.

As both the capitalist and the Marxist doctrines failed to present solutions to the production problems, including the problem of motivations and incentives, new ideas emerged within the Third Universal Theory to find solutions to these problems. In this paper we shall concentrate on the problem of motivations and incentives in the capitalist system, the solutions provided by the Third Universal Theory in that respect, and finally to deduce certain indications pertaining to the establishment of a new system of motivations and incentives.

MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES

The idea of providing management with a comprehensive theory for the motivation of individuals is impossible, but generally speaking, it is believed that the increase of the motivation of individuals could lead to the increase of production and the loyalty of the workers to their enterprise. Not only this, it also encourages workers, reduces absenteeism and increases production.

Motivation is derived from the word "motive" which means a desire that overwhelms the individual's will which leads to a certain behaviour.

Such a definition emphasises that motivation is a tool of behaviour. People usually behave in order to achieve certain objectives. Therefore, motivation is a motive directed towards a certain objective. Motivation does not start from a vacuum, and the words "need, desire, want, and motive" are all similar in meaning to the word "motive".

Motivation, then deals with the causes of human behaviour not with its content. Peerson Westerbear gave a similar definition to motivation when he said :

"Motivation is all the conflicting internal conditions that can be described as hopes, desires, motives etc. It is an internal state which reacts and moves".

More precisely, motivation is always called the intervening variable. These intervening variables are the internal and psychological processes that cannot be noticed directly, but can influence human behaviour.

Scientists believe that every behaviour has a motive. In other words, human behaviour has been designed to achieve certain objectives, and this behaviour evolves round the desire of satisfying a need.

The unsatisfied need is the starting point of the motivation process. It is a defect within the individual which sparks of a series of actions which lead to a certain behaviour. The unsatisfied need causes tension within the individual and leads him to behave in a certain way to satisfy his need and thus reduce tension. Such activity is directed towards an objective and achieving it satisfies the need. Thus, the motivation circle would be completed. (See fiture 1).

Before discussing the solutions provided by the capitalist system in respect of motivations, we shall deal first with incentives and benefits. They are both a kind of reward given in addition to the basic wage of the worker.

An incentive is an additional reward to the performance. It is offered to those who perform their duties in a perfect way and it is related directly to production.

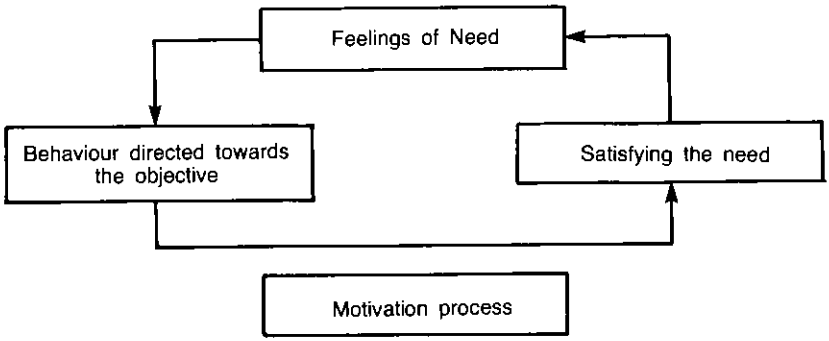


Figure I

But a benefit is an additional reward given to the individual as a member of an establishment.

Thus, the difference between an incentive and a benefit is substantial. While benefits are given to those who are members of the establishment, incentive is related directly to performance. So, anyone who performs his duties in an unsatisfactory manner will not receive an incentive, but he will receive a benefit like anybody else who has been with the establishment for a number of years and performs the same duties.

THE PROBLEM OF MOTIVATIONS IN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Capitalists know the realistic solution to the problem of motivations. But instead of providing the solution to this dilemma, they go round it by providing "tranquilisers". The real solution is that workers do not receive their share in the production.

The main reason for the apathy of the workers is their deprivation of their own profits, since without them no profits would have been accomplished. They are also deprived of participation in the management of their establishment, and the objective they are working for has nothing to do with them, as the interests of the employers are different from those of the workers.

The capitalist system has provided the principles of profit sharing between the employers and the workers, and the participation of workers in the management through objectives and enrichment.

The folowing is a simple illustration of each principle.

A) PROFIT-SHARING

Profit-sharing means distributing part of the profits of an establishment among the workers. There are various schemes of profit-sharing. In 1975, a researcher in the U.S.A. estimated that the number of schemes of profit-sharing is about 25,000. These schemes are growing in number. In those schemes a certain percentage to be distributed among the workers before the actual profits are known, is agreed upon at the end of each year.

The main objective here is to attract the workers' attention to the element of profit, and encourage them to achieve more profits for the establishment.

However, the employer or the owner of the enterprise decides what percentage will be distributed, when to grant it, and probably how these profits will be spent.

B) MANAGING THROUGH THE USE OF PARTICIPATION

This term is used to define the process in which individuals participate by exchanging their ideas towards the solution of problems which affect the establishment and their jobs. Individuals have a certain degree of influence on the decision-making.

Following the principle of managing through the use of participation, whether officially or unofficially, managers receive assistance from their subordinates in developing plans related to decision-taking. The participation of the subordinates provides managers with new ideas and innovations that help the prosperity of the establishment. It also gives the individual a sense of fulfilment, independence and self-assurance.

The participation principle has not solved the problems of workers especially when dealing with matters related to wages or the objectives of the establishment. In this case the final say is up to the employers or the capitalists.

C) MANAGEMENT BY OBJECTIVE

Management by objective, is defined as the process where the chairman and managers decide general objectives, as well as the area of responsibility for each individual together with the expected results. They use these results as indicators for the evaluation of the participation of each individual in production.

Both the superiors and subordinates must understand the areas of responsibility and accept the level of performance as well as the methods of improving that performance.

There are indicators explaining the principle of management by objectives :

1. — Superiors and subordinates meet to discuss objectives (results).

2. — The superior together with subordinates establish objectives that could be achieved by the subordinates.

3. — The superior meets the subordinates once again after establishing the preliminary objectives, to evaluate the performance of the subordinates in respect of the objectives.

The weak partners here are the workers who have to accept whatever is ordered tham by their superiors, who are always the capitalists or the owners of most of the shares.

D) JOB ENRICHMENT

Job enrichment seeks the improvement of efficiency and self-satisfaction through providing chances for self-fulfilment, more responsibility and progress.

The principle of job enrichment tackles matters such as wages, conditions of work, the structure of the establishment, communication and superficial training spite of the importance of these matters.

These are, in short, some of the reforming attempts the capitalist system has tried, to stop the deterioration of that system. What, then, does the Third Universal Theory offer as solutions in this respect ?

MOTIVATIONS IN THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

Many of those who are concerned about motivations have dealt with the various factors behind work and the hygiene factors which make the worker stay in an establishment. The founder of the "Two-factor Theory of Motivators" has showed that there are motivators such as implementation. He also admits the role of the worker, work itself, responsibility and the chances for promotion and development. He also discusses the hygiene factors such as the policy of the establishment, management, supervision, the relationship between superior and subordinate, wages and conditions of work. Other theorists dealt with needs and motivations. Froom showed that people behave in a certain way to achieve their objectives, and that their behaviour depends on their belief in whether or not they would achieve these objectives. On choosing the way leading to the objectives, they have preferences of behaviour, depending on the result of each behaviour.

All these concepts have prevailed for a long time, representing a single point of view, until Part Two of The Green Book, the solution of the Economic Problem, was published. The Green Book provides radical concepts in which the concepts of liberation from need, from the control of others, the concept of partners not wage-earners and management by popular committees have emerged.

A) THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERATION FROM NEED

Need will be a motive as long as it is not satisfied. Needs vary in quality and quantity and when a need is satisfied, another unsatisfied one arises. So, the struggle for the satisfaction of needs is endless.

The Green Book showed the close relationship between need and freedom. The more Man has unsatisfied needs the more he will be controlled by others. Once he is liberated from the need, his behaviour becomes rational : "in need, freedom is latent".

B) PARTNERS NOT WAGE-EANERS

The Green Book presents the concept of "Partners not Wage-Earners" as a final solution to exploitation. According to this concept, there are no longer employers and wage-earners or exploiters and exploited, but all are equal in their ownership of the means of production and products. In the Third Universal Theory there is no profit, as it is the difference between the price of product and its cost.

Within this concept, sale price should not exceed the total cost of the product in which all factors of production have been taken into account : machines, raw material and producers (workers).

This theory attempts at abolishing wages, not increase them : "wage-earners are a type of slaves, however improved their wages may be". When the employer buys the efforts of the producer, he controls his needs and freedom. In this case, the producer behaves in a way contrary to his wishes and according to the wishes of his employer, otherwise he would be dismissed from his job.

In the capitalist system, the producers strike because they are underpaid or they work long hours or the conditions of work are bad. But in the system of "partners not wage-earners" there is no need for strikes as all producers are partners in production and they participate in the management. The professional congress, formed by all producers, formulates the framework of the organisational procedures such as working hours and working conditions, and a popular committee is elected by the producers to implement these procedures.

To reach the stages of "Partners not Wage-earners" the masses of producers in the East and West should struggle to solve the problems in their countries regarding distribution of production, management of enterprises and improvement of working conditions.

C) MANAGEMENT THROUGH POPULAR COMMITTEES

Participating in management has always been an aim for producers to achieve. Sometimes they succeeded in having representatives in the management. This is the concept known as collective bargaining applied in some capitalist enterprises, where groups of producers are

entrusted with tasks to be presented to the head of the enterprise. He may accept or reject the proposals of such groups. These groups (or committees) are not permanent, but formed for specific purposes and after achieving these purposes, they are dissolved.

THE REASONS FOR FORMING COMMITTEES

1) Committees are formed to represent the different groups resulting from the conflicting interests of each group.

2) Committees co-ordinate plans and policies and communicate them to those who represent them in the committee.

3) The function of the committees is to unify efforts when taking decisions.

4) Committees encourage participants to take part to discussions regarding matters related to the enterprise.

5) Committees sometimes are formed to avoid taking a certain decision, for example when the head of the enterprise does not have the courage to reject it.

After the publication of The Green Book and the emergence of the concept of "committees are everywhere", the traditional role of the committees changed, and the manager or the governing body has been replaced by the committee. It has taken up the various duties of the manager and has become the executive instrument which controls the decision-taking.

Under the concept of "committees are everywhere", committees are no longer consultative groups, but executive ones, shouldering the responsibility of running the enterprise as well as formulating its objectives and aims.

The committee within this concept is made of all the producers in a corporation and not just a group selected by the governing body or the owner of the enterprise, as is the case in the other systems. It is also different from collective management, in which committees are formed from one category, the managers. In the new concept, a committee consists of capable and committed persons, whatever their jobs in the enterprise, elected freely and democratically by their colleagues.

In short, committees work for objectives formulated by their members or through Popular Congress, in which the members of the committees usually take part in their activities. In the Jamahiriya, participation in management has become a reality and the producers have become partners not wage-workers.

INDICATORS FOR A NEW SYSTEM OF MOTIVATIONS AND INCENTIVES

The problem of motivations has been solved within the concept of the Third Universal Theory through the liberation from need from the control of employers, abolishing wages, replacing wage-earners by partners and managers by popular congresses. The Third Theory has been capable of solving the problem of motivations where the East and West failed.

Regarding incentives, there is a necessity for their existence as in the case of services sectors, where producers do not produce material products to be valued in money. As producers differ in their efforts to produce, there must be incentives. Therefore, a new system of incentives is needed.

SOME CONDITIONS AND INDICATORS TO BE CONSIDERED

1. — The System of incentives must be related to performance i.e. the relationship between efforts and reward.
2. — Individual differences have to be put into consideration to attract individuals and groups to give the best they can offer.
3. — Systems of incentives must be coordinated with the financial sources of the corporation to ascertain the extent to which the corporation is able to offer incentives.
4. — Revision of the system of incentive regularly to ascertain whether it reflects the conditions of work prevailing in the corporation.

The Concept of Exploitation in The Green Book

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INTRODUCTION

Life in this world is based on need. It would be impossible to imagine the existence of life without need, for without need there would be no life. But needs do not have the same importance and priority ; their priority is related to the degree of importance. The need for air is greater than that for water, food or clothing. So it is possible to say that the human struggle in this world is due to these various needs. While men do not have the same needs, the intensity and ferocity of this struggle varies according to their importance. People seeking to satisfy their needs may succeed or fail according to their effectiveness, and capacities. This is the origin of competition between men, based on their physical or financial capacities and activities. It is the instinct of satisfying personal needs and deriving benefits, by which man proves his existence, regardless of any other value. This behaviour is materialistic, and if it is understandable in animals, it cannot be permitted in human society. Values in human society are not based on material considerations only, there are also spiritual values and moral constraints which do not allow the satisfaction of needs except through moral behaviour, without causing harm to anybody. This means that the criterion of satisfying these needs is a moral one, far from the spirit of monopoly and exploitation.

While man's needs are numerous and constantly developing, they vary in availability, quantity and quality, according to their importance and the ease with which they can be produced or attained. For example, getting heat from the sun does not raise any economic problem due to the abundance of its radiation ; it is available to everyone ; but other things, like land for example, with all that it produces, may not be sufficient to satisfy man's needs, in the face of the present demographic explosion. So needs play a vital role in the struggle, according to their importance and the degree of necessity. If man's needs were limited to what corresponds to his situation, the region where he lives, and the nature of his work, those needs would be limited to necessary things only. But man, always searching a better life, after satisfying one need, proceeds to another one. So the aspirations of man grow, and subsequently the needs become relatively unlimited, especially as life is continuously developing. Men

always compete to raise their standard of living, so it is obvious that the demand on needs will increase continuously.

PRODUCTION AND SATISFACTION OF NEEDS

Needs are not of a particular type, but vary considerably, there being a wide range of material and moral needs. There is a need for food, clothing, medical treatment, a need for culture, travel, and so on. Some of these needs are provided for by nature, such as raw materials, but others must be produced. This gives rise to the problem of labour, because natural raw materials may be inadequate by themselves to satisfy the needs without introducing the production component, which is achieved only through work, and which is one of its basic foundations. Any economic production consists of three components : production materials, a means of production, and a product. Each of these components plays an essential role, and without it production stops [1]. Nevertheless, economic production is not sufficient to satisfy human needs, due to the scarcity or lack of production components, such as land, work and capital.

For example, fertile land is limited and is insufficient to feed the population of the world. This has led to the reclamation of less fertile land in order to obtain from it the same yields as the more fertile land. But this increases production costs and the prices of commodities, which may make them inaccessible to the poor, whose needs thus remain unsatisfied.

In addition to work for the production of material goods, there is work in the services necessary for the satisfaction of basic needs, such as the general services performed by doctors, engineers and university professors.

So the various needs, whether they be material and economic or in the form of cultural and social services, manufactured or otherwise, may not be satisfied because of their high cost, exploitation by owners, or insufficient production.

Consequently, availability of products is directly related to the availability of these production components ; if they are scarce, production is insufficient to satisfy demand, resulting in rising prices.

While it is sometimes possible to overcome the scarcity of production components, by looking for new resources or creating a class of technical workers through vocational training and education, the problem remains, because it is not only one of a lack of production components, limited to the producers, the raw materials, or the means of production, although they have their impact, but also because of the continuously increasing needs, which may be an important factor contributing to the impossibility of satisfying all human needs, especially if we take into account overlapping exploitation factors such as trade, brokerage, or monopoly. We may conclude that, as man's needs are increasing continuously, it is normal that there should be no limit to their increase and development, which inevitably leads to a scarcity of production components [2].

Consequently, a balance should be established between man's needs and the scarcity of production components, and solutions should be found to fulfil and satisfy these needs either through renouncing some of them, resources being scarce, or through ascertaining the reasons and overcoming them, through conversion of the production components and directing resources towards the achievement of a larger number of objectives, or through organising their utilisation and fighting monopoly.

The land, for example, may be used for the construction of sufficient houses to satisfy the needs of the majority of the population if there is no exploitation ; if the land is not owned by anyone in particular. Similarly, the exploitation of agricultural land may be improved by changing cropping patterns. The wage-earning producers working for somebody else, who feel that their productive capacity is exploited and that it is not enough to satisfy their needs, may be converted to partner producers ; this change of situation would lead to a concentration of resources on a specific production, with priorities being determined according to needs, and with the diversity of production being controlled by selection and comparison. This cannot be achieved if the producers do not have the authority to take decisions, which means that the authority of the people's power must be achieved [3].

Thus we can see that the problem of need does not lie only in the scarcity of the production components, but also in harnessing them for the satisfaction of these needs, by organising the distribution of the

limited resources according to the various needs. Thus, the satisfaction of needs is greatly influenced by the manner in which the distribution of those limited resources is organised, with the aim of improving the standard of living of the individual and achieving the equitable satisfaction of needs.

It is recognised that the satisfaction of needs cannot be achieved by the individual himself, which means it is impossible for the individual to satisfy his needs by producing them himself. The volume of production, the kind of goods, and the services provided are of many different types, resources of society being of different kinds. It follows that to make them reach all the members of the society, it is imperative to exchange goods to satisfy needs which are different in quantity and quality, as they differ in time and place according to the social environment, the climate and the region, the age or number of the population, in addition, to the impact of the economic system on the creation of the various needs of the individual and their satisfaction.

In the capitalist systems, based on the predominance of capital, the satisfaction of the needs of the individual is not achieved in the same way as in the socialist systems based on justice and equality. The exchange of goods, for example, develops many means for conveying the goods to the individuals, which creates markets where the goods are supplied, their prices fixed and where they are sold. But these markets are not of the same type in all systems. The socialist system, provides means which facilitate the supply of goods to the individual at minimum cost, without exploitation. This is evident in the popular markets [4] run by persons who arrange for the supply of goods, and who provide general services to the members of society.

It is also worthwhile to study the means of satisfying the needs of the individual, through the use of income. Some people spend all their income to this end, others save a substantial part of it, to derive usurious interest from their savings [5], while others invest part of their income in productive enterprises, thus contributing to an increase of production for the benefit of the community. In this way, income is used partly for consumption, and partly in the investment process. This, however, gives rise to the problem of income distribution, and of individual shares, as well as the impact of this distribution on needs, as

excessive savings are made at the expense of other individuals' share of the wealth of the society [6].

All these problems indicated above are influenced by the prevailing economic system, because the ownership of the means of production and the means of exchanging and distribution in it are not equal, and have different effects in a capitalist society and in a socialist society.

We shall therefore approach these economic problems in the light of the different economic systems, to explain the concept of exploitation and its extent in each of them. Subsequently, we shall expose the point of view of The Green Book and its attitude towards exploitation, and its methods of dealing with the phenomenon of exploitation of the needs of people.

Chapter I
ECONOMIC SYSTEMS AND THEIR IMPACT ON EXPLOITATION

To deal with the concept and aims of exploitation we have to define it in a general manner. The purpose of exploitation is to achieve unfair gain by different means, all of them aimed at the accumulation of wealth illegally. Money is the subject, means and target of exploitation. Accordingly, exploitation, in its economic sense is achieved through the use of capital, which means a fortune used to produce another one. A fortune may include goods available at a certain moment, either capital primary goods, such as machines, plants, semi-manufactured goods, or consumer goods such as buildings, furniture, clothing and foodstuffs. Fortune or capital also includes land (agricultural or other), rehabilitated or otherwise, land for building or for mining operations, and human energy, in the form of workers, or services such as those provided by doctors, employees and lawyers.

The concept of fortune as capital, either man-made or a gift of nature, may be defined in general as being any tool or material used in production [7], and every state strives to increase its capital [8].

If the aim is to achieve welfare through improvement of the standard of living by increasing the income of the individual, it is logical that states should hasten to adopt the system which they believe will achieve this aim. This gives rise to different economic systems, all aimed at increasing wealth.

But society, to achieve the well-being of its members, should be free of exploitation. We therefore have to examine the nature of the economic systems in capitalist society and socialist society, to disclose the aspects of exploitation of the wealth of the community, after which we will discuss the means described in The Green Book for the elimination of these aspects. To achieve this, we should define the concept and extent of exploitation in the context of wealth.

Section I
MEANING AND SCOPE OF EXPLOITATION IN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

Exploitation [9], in the economic sense, means making excessive profits through monopoly. Aristotle defined monopoly as being the exclusive sale of a commodity by one merchant on the market. So monopoly aims to get an unfair price. It is based on the exploitation of the buyer by the seller.

In order to understand the facts of monopoly, we have to examine the laws and links governing the different economic relations and phenomena, and to determine the impact of the factors created by these laws, and which establish these relations or phenomena.

The phenomenon of exploitation, for example, may result from laws which provide an opportunity for monopoly, or from the application of the free doctrine or the capitalist system. The study of these phenomena means disclosure of these laws through economic analysis. The study of the principles of pricing or the principles of trade are examples of economic analysis.

The economic doctrine of any state implies that this state undertakes a scientific study and analysis of the economic laws, in the same manner as that of a chemist or physicist who seeks to determine certain elements or effects. In the light of this analysis, the state adopts a specific economic policy to achieve a specific aim or target, using the most effective methods available. It may decide for example, to eliminate exploitation through the prohibition of monopoly, or to fix prices to prevent price increases.

Thus, the authorities in each state, examine the means to be used to attain their objective. They may decide, for example, to adopt a free economic system without any official intervention, or to intervene to ensure the maximum possible satisfaction of human needs ; the final aim being to attain economic welfare.

Thus the state adopts a certain attitude in the context of its economic doctrine. It accepts the capitalist system, or refuses it because of the social and economic situations resulting from it, which lead to exploitation, corruption and poverty. It proposes alternative economic and social measures [10] that it considers conducive to its concept of

the ideal situation. Nevertheless, every economic system claims to be capable of solving the economic problem. But what is the nature of this problem to which The Green Book provides solutions ?

This problem results from the struggle between humans when they struggle for their many needs in an environment with limited potential. The causes of this problem may be attributed to the following :

1. The lack of resources and their unsuitability for the satisfaction of needs.

In this case, the struggle is with nature, for the conversion of its resources into useful articles. This struggle is ruled by fixed and general natural laws, and by technical situations which vary in time and place. These laws and situations rule the production process, the so-called technology. Culture and civilisation provide only part of the technical means needed in this struggle with nature, to overcome obstacles, and to make nature capable of satisfying needs. The struggle of technology with nature is evident in the extraction of iron ore or petroleum, the exploitation of the desert, or in attracting clouds to bring rainfall to a given region.

2. The inability of funds, regardless of their abundance, to satisfy unlimited needs.

The availability of vast sums of money is not necessarily sufficient for the satisfaction of unlimited needs. In this case, money is considered limited in relation to these increasing needs. This results from the bad distribution of funds as regards needs, which means that the problem lies in the distribution of products to consumers.

To overcome this problem, it is necessary to renounce the satisfaction of some needs. The problem is then how to decide which of these needs is to remain unsatisfied. The struggle between individuals starts at the stage of distribution and allocation of money according to the priority of needs, which gives rise to the problem of the choice of the appropriate economic system.

3. The relation between needs and the various production sectors necessitates a balanced distribution of materials.

The satisfaction of needs is achieved through the production and distribution of products among the consumers. But this is preceded by another distribution, that of materials between the different sectors of production, considering that the resources cover only some needs,

and consequently that the multiplicity of needs is linked to the multiplicity of production sectors. As resources are insufficient for all needs, production should be confined to the satisfaction of the essential needs. This gives rise to the problem of the distribution of resources between the production sectors, and the problem of used and unused resources, and consequently the problem of the satisfied and unsatisfied needs [11]. The solutions of these problems depends on the economic structure of each state. The solution of the first problem is affected in time and place by nature, by the availability of natural resources, by the human element, and by the production sectors.

As to the second and third problems, their solutions is affected by the nature of the economic system and the policy adopted by the state.

The struggle, in the context of the economic problem which faces states, rests on two main issues, namely numerous needs and limited funds. How have the different economic systems handled this problem, and to what extent have they succeeded in solving it ? What is the attitude of The Green Book towards these systems, and to what extent have they succeeded in eliminating the exploitation ? The answer to this question lies in a rapid comparison between the capitalist and socialist systems, after which we shall present the Third Universal Theory and the means it proposes for the elimination of exploitation.

1. Exploitation in the capitalist system

This system is based on the complete freedom of the individual. The state does not intervene in economic life, except in urgent situations. The expression "laissez faire, laissez passer" [12] is the symbol of this free economic policy, which considers the individual to be the unit of economic activity with the right to own what he likes, and which considers competition as the field activity of the individual. Production and competition for personal gain are practised in complete economic freedom. Thus, in a capitalist system the solution of the economic problem is left to the individuals, as regards resources, production and the satisfaction of needs, in the belief that if every individual satisfies

his needs, the entire community would enjoy welfare and prosperity [13].

To clarify the aspects of exploitation under this system, we have to analyse it and review its bases and philosophy.

2. The capitalist system : bases and philosophy

The capitalist system is established on the following bases and concepts :

(1) The individual is the standard unit of economic activity. He controls himself, and his activity in accordance with his personal situation, and to his own advantage. The economic activity of the individual is based on profit, which means the existence only of the phenomenon of exploitation. This is the philosophy which inspires the laws governing economic activity in the capitalist society.

(b) On the basis of the principle of each individual striving for his own profit, the individual in the capitalist society tries to achieve the greatest possible personal profit, without any thought for the satisfaction of the people's needs.

Production in this society is orientated towards personal profit, not the satisfaction of people's needs. This is an application of the utilitarian principle of Bentham in the field of economic activity.

Personal profit motivates competition.

Individuals see no contradiction between personal profit, and the common good, claiming that it is only the sum of personal gains. They seek to prove this on the basis that exchange in the capitalist system results from payment of the price of goods and services, and that these prices vary in accordance with the law of supply and demand. If people wish to satisfy specific needs, the production of which is insufficient, the prices of these goods will rise, increasing the profit of the producers. This encourages them to increase production of the desired goods, to satisfy the needs of the consumers.

On the contrary, if goods of no great interest to the people are produced, a surplus occurs and prices decrease, with an ensuing loss to the producers, which induces them to halt production. Thus, prices control production, and the assumption is that there is no conflict between private interests and the common interest.

3. Production

Exponents of the capitalist doctrine consider that the elements of production are nature, work and capital, work being the most important, and that production itself simply creates, or increases benefits through work, as it creates net production by adding more input than those consumed in the production process. They are interested in the division of labour and the principle of decreasing yields. However, this is not the appropriate time or place to explain this principle.

Thus the capitalist system concentrates on work, considering it the basis for increasing the wealth of a nation.

This is what Adam Smith indicated in his book, "The Wealth of Nations", in which he says that the annual work of each nation is the main source of the goods it consumes annually, these goods being either a direct product of this work or resulting from the sale of the product and the purchase of other goods from other nations.

Population :

There should be a balance between the population and the foodstuffs which they require. Numerically, population is related to the quantity of foodstuffs available. This balance is achieved either through a natural limitation of popular increase, or intentionally. The aim is to establish a balance between actual population and the rate by which it may increase, within limits governed by the quantity of food available.

5. Production :

In the capitalist system, individuals are considered free to choose what they wish to consume. Everyone is free to acquire any goods which he considers convenient, or to save part of his money for investment in any project he likes. So the producers usually satisfy the wishes of the consumers. The rush of consumers for a given item is a

proof of their appreciation of this commodity, or its capacity a certain need.

Thus, the satisfaction of the various needs of consumers, results in the availability of new products and new means of production, contributing to a decrease of prices. This implies competition between producers, survival in the market being for those who are more able than others to decrease production costs. This competition results in price reduction, and is therefore in the interests of the consumers.

In reality, however, prices are not fully determined by competition between producers, but by the monopolies and their capacity to limit the supply for the purpose of exploitation.

6. Workers and unemployment :

The exponents of the capitalist system think that, sooner or later, full employment is bound to exist and that unemployment is just a passing phenomenon which will surely disappear, on the grounds that, as unemployment results from a supply of workers higher than demand, competition will increase between workers, for lower wages. According to this theory, a drop in wages makes it possible to employ more people. But competition rises once more between the remaining workers, the wages decrease again, and so on, till all unemployed workers are absorbed [14]. The volume of the national product will stay unchanged, except in the long term, in other situations, such as a population increase, or a change in production techniques, or a change in the amount of capital available.

7. Distribution :

Distribution here means the rules governing the distribution of the total product between the elements of production which contributed to the production. This is what is called functional distribution between the elements of production, i.e. work, capital and nature. This should be examined in the light of the following :

(a) *Income*

The exponents of the capitalist doctrine consider land the basis of income. If land is not owned and defined as private property, there is no income. What land-owners get for allowing the exploitation and use of their lands by others is income. They obtain it in return for their monopoly of the land.

(b) *Wages*

They also consider wages as a commodity like any other, and that each work has a price, which is the wage paid. The value of work, as a commodity, is defined by the number of hours necessary to produce that item. This means that the number of hours necessary for a unit of work, as a commodity, is equal to the number of hours necessary to produce the quantity of food necessary to preserve the life of the worker, to enable him to continue working.

For them, the wages are the price of work, as a commodity ; it is evaluated by the quantity of food necessary to that worker, which is the level from which that wage cannot deviate, either positively or negatively. If wages increase above the level necessary for life, the welfare of the workers increases, they get married, have children, and their numbers increase, which results in a decrease of wages below the level necessary for their life. Their condition worsens, diseases spread between them, their numbers decrease and consequently there is a drop in the supply of labour, which increases wages. The assumption here is that workers are ruled by natural law, the so-called iron law of wages, to which workers are subject, and which prevents them from raising their standard of living above a fixed limit.

(c) *Profit*

Profit means the return from the planning of a project, this planning being one of the elements of production. It is the yield, after deduction of costs, wages, rent and interest, both explicit or implicit. If this difference is negative, it is considered a loss, or what is called negative gain [15]. Economists agree that there are three sources of profit : risk, renewal, monopoly.

Profit, for the person taking the risk, is the alternative to putting the production factors together to form a complete production unit. The explanation for this is that the capitalist society is dynamic, always

exposed to variations in supply and demand, costs and forms of production, and prices.

The planner should foresee all these variations, and take his decisions accordingly. But projections imply risk, for the organiser may be wrong in his estimations, resulting in his inability to cover costs, and consequently toward a loss. Assumption of this responsibility by the planner is the source of profit, which varies, of course, from one industry or project to another, according to the degree of risk, which is the case in renewal, for example.

Renewal is the introduction of innovations into the production factors, to produce a new item, to modify an existing one, to find a new way of production, or to find a new system of organisation for a particular industry. This renewal also implies risk. Profit is determined against this risk. Making a profit without renewal, using traditional methods of production, is exploitation [16].

Monopoly, is the withholding of goods until their price increases. Monopolists are able to raise the price of goods and to diminish the volume of production. They fix production at levels assuring marginal income for marginal costs, not at the level where income or prices is equal to the long-term average cost, as is the case in full competition.

Nevertheless, the classical writers considered that human evolution will lead to a decrease of the margin of profit, because it is inherent to evolution to increase capitals, which decreases profit, until productive capital stabilizes. This evolution leads to a stagnant, stable state where productive capital does not increase but remains unchanged from one year to another, which means that its amount decreases proportionately with the amount used in production [17].

Interest

The capitalist economists consider interest as the price of capital loaned for a given period ; it is paid against the use of money by the borrower, i.e. it is the price of money. This price or interest is defined in this system according to a credit theory [18] based on a balance between the supply of loans and demand on them in the credit market. The first source of supply of loans are savings made by individuals,

because savings vary according to interest rates. The variation of these rates affects the supply and demand of savings, similar to the impact of the variation of the price of any commodity on its supply and demand.

In conclusion, the classical analysis of the production factors is based on land, whose owners get rent ; on work for which workers obtain wages ; on capital, whose owners get interest ; and finally on planning, which yields profits to the planners.

Thus, we can see that the production factors in the capitalist system are all based on the following principles :

(1) To establish the concept of private ownership, the right of the individual to own any kind of fortune in his society, without limits.

(2) The freedom of the individual in work and in the exercise of economic activity in whichever manner he considers capable of providing him with maximum profit, the State not having the right to intervene and to guide him towards a particular form of employment.

(3) The free market is the basis of the economy, through supply and demand. Ownership, freedom and the market are the factors where the forces of supply and demand react in the capitalist system prevailing in the United States, Western Europe and in some developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America [9].

Nevertheless, we notice that some capitalist countries do not allow the same degree of liberty to individuals, as they intervene with some constraints on matters of common interest. They consider this intervention necessary due to the nature and logic of things, as follows :

(a) Any owner can use his property in a manner harmful to his neighbours or to the community where he lives. It is forbidden in some capitalist countries to construct a building above a certain fixed limit. Standards of health and hygiene are established for factories, and the construction of factories harmful to public health is forbidden in some regions.

(b) Some States have forbidden the drug trade or any form of enterprise harmful to public morals.

(c) The State undertakes large projects that are beyond the capacity of individuals. With the exception of cases specified by the

State, limiting some activities, the owner is completely free to dispose of his possessions, and is subject to full and free competition.

But these bases and principles of the capitalist system are such as to lead to total exploitation, and, consequently, to affect the freedom of the members of society, and even to subdue them to the capitalists. This will be demonstrated in the areas of exploitation in the capitalist system.

Section II
AREAS OF EXPLOITATION IN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

1. Exploitation in the context of the freedom of ownership

It is recognised that the phenomenon of exploitation is linked to the prevailing economic conditions. If those conditions are basically neutral, it is the economic system which decides, through legislation, whether this neutrality should remain or not, and whether it is consistent with religion, morals and the interests of society. It may let it exist, motivated by personal benefit, and dominated by selfishness and exploitation, or intervene to limit such exploitation. Thus, it is legislation which controls the effectiveness of the economy, so we can say that exploitation comes along with systems controlling economic values. If economy, in general, is based on the relations between the various needs and the limited resources, and if it is oriented towards the implementation of the right economic policy, this policy should be based on social justice and national welfare, whether the economic aspect is related to money, needs, or behaviour.

If the economic behaviour of the indivual (through establishing relations with his human environment), aims at achieving his benefits, and his freedom consistent with this personal benefit, this means that economic freedom is linked to the principle of personal profit. Thus man, from the economic point of view, appears to be selfish, in the capitalist system, dealing with economic factors on the basis of personal benefit and interest, without any moral considerations [20]. Being free he acts as if he were isolated from his social environment,

not caring whether this freedom leads him to exploitation. He makes a careful comparison between profit and loss, applying the principle of less effort for profit, under the cover of economic liberty, which supposes the freedom of man. But this absolute supposition is not true in reality, for it does not take into consideration the evolution of capitalism, and interventions to limit monopolies and such like, which lead to exploitation for personal profit.

If, in the capitalist system, economic liberty leads to this economic situation, and defines how the individuals and market should be, this idea is somewhat theoretical, because the existence of the utilitarian, reasonable, isolated and free man is simply an unrealistic assumption. Regarding the ownership of land, for example, we note that land is a limited economic resource, but with multiple uses : different crops, construction, etc. We also note that man's desires are unlimited, for he always wants more. Thus, the scarcity of economic resources and their multiple uses, in addition to the unlimited desires, inevitably lead to conflict between personal profit, especially as private ownership is badly distributed because of the many political, social or exploitative factors.

A minority owns a large share, while the majority has little property. The first category gets big incomes from yields or rents, which provide it with a prosperous life without any effort, especially that ownership, in the traditional meaning which gives rights to owners concerning use or exploitation. It gives the owners three powers :

(a) Right of exploitation : the right of providing the owner with a given income, such as in leasing lands or houses.

(b) Right of use : the right of the owner to use what belongs to him for personal purposes, such as living in a house, or to allow others to use it in return for something.

(c) Right of disposal : the right of the owner to change the characteristics of the property, sell it and transfer its ownership, or obtain a return in kind from it [21].

Giving these rights of ownership, according to the free doctrine, is based on the personal profit of the owner, without observing the profit of others, or the common benefit. This right implies the greatest degree of exploitation.

2. Exploitation in the distribution of wealth

The distribution of wealth is based on exploitation in the capitalist system. If we inquire about the origin of any wealth, we find it in feudalism, abuse of production, or in an action based on exploitation of the weak by the strong, covered by rules and legislations protecting and supporting exploitation, such as land speculation, leasing real estate, exploitation of the workers, or trading on the needs of the people.

Some people justify this unequal distribution of wealth by the existence of mental and psychological difference between one man and another, and they consider the differences in inherited or acquired capacities and talents to be the reason for this inequality. On the contrary, some others consider that this inequality is caused by inequal opportunities, in addition to the fact that enormous wealth leads, in itself, to an exaggerated accumulation and multiplication of further wealth, for pleasure and out of selfishness, without respect for any value. This creates two classes, in perpetual struggle with one another : the capitalists, who own the biggest proportion of the wealth, and the oppressed poor and workers, who only have their daily food, which they get for their wages, and which is just enough to enable them to keep on producing.

This struggle is to the detriment of society. It is an amoral struggle, establishing hate, and based on the exploitation inherent in the capitalist system.

3. Co-ercion and the exploitation of freedom in the capitalist system

Some people consider that freedom in the capitalist system is not a real one, but only the freedom to exploit. It is not given to everybody, because the inequality of wealth limits the freedom of choice. The workers (the disadvantaged class with few possibilities) are not free to choose suitable work or their future, they can only to submit to the wishes of the rich in the name of the freedom of acceptance or refusal. In addition, inequality in the distribution of ownership results in

inequality of opportunities ; the sons of the poor cannot choose better possibilities for education, work in good jobs or have their own projects, while the sons of the rich can do so. This is an extreme injustice and exploitation, destroying freedom in the name of achieving freedom.

4. Exploitation of the production of producers, and the contradiction between collective production and the ownership of the elements of production.

Ownership of the elements of production by the capitalist class is in contradiction with the simplest rule of logic. There is an obvious contradiction between production as such, and the ownership of the income from production, because production is collective while the income is privately owned by the capitalist. This is true, in spite of the evolution of capital with the use of modern equipment and technology, leading to the employment of thousands of workers in a production unit, a plant for example. The new method of production by division of labour has made production participatory, many hands participating consecutively in the manufacturing of a car, for example. So, if production is collective and participatory in the capitalist system, it is illogical that one of few men, the capitalist, should get the share of workers' production, in exchange for low wages that are insufficient to satisfy their needs.

We note here that the aim of production in this system is to ensure profit for the owners of the elements of production only, i.e. the capitalists. This means that production is not geared to satisfying the workers' needs, but to ensuring and increasing profit. Consequently, the aim is to ensure increasing profit, regardless of any other benefit ; so if profit decreases or if there is no more profit, production is stopped without giving any consideration to the workers who produce the goods in question.

This proves the contradiction between the ownership of the elements of production in the capitalist system, and participatory production (a contradiction increasing with the increase of capital) the number of workers, and their deprivation of their production. All this

results in an increasing class struggle between the workers and the capitalists [22].

Our aim is to eliminate the contradiction. We shall indicate the solution adopted by The Green Book in dealing with this exploitation phenomena.

5. Exploitation and control of consumers' needs

The control of the resources of society by the capitalists results in their control of production as related to needs. These needs being various, and increasing with the progress of civilisation and inventions, and the resources, though numerous, not being enough to satisfy all needs, result in the control of the consumers' needs by capitalists, by producing the goods which yield big profits for them, even if these goods do not conform with religion, morals and health, like drugs and alcohol. The producers limit the quantity of goods to maintain the volume of their sales, to fix prices, and to keep the effects of the supply and demand principle always on their side. In addition, the producers, in order to further exploit the consumers' needs, put on the market alternative goods which given them more profit ; thus their criteria of production is higher profit, not the wishes of the consumers or the benefit of the society. This also results in the inability of lower income categories to obtain expensive goods that the rich can afford.

6. Exploitation and monopolisation of production.

The evolution of production resulting from the advent of the various modern machines, has led to the creation of large ventures and companies, the concentration of production and capital in them and the oppression of small ventures. This concentration resulted in capitalist monopolies and in mergers of capitalists, to fix prices and to control supply by limiting production and distribution on the market, thus avoiding competition and high costs. It also resulted in the domination and control of production. Thus monopolies dominate the markets, their sole aim being to ensure higher profits. These large

undertakings and companies, such as car production companies and American steel companies, control needs and monopolise them for the benefit of the capital dictatorship, to increase the wealth of the exploiting capitalist class.

7. Exploitation and unemployment.

The apparent reason for the extent of unemployment in the capitalist system is the imbalance between production and consumption resulting from an actual decrease of demand for manufactured goods, which has a great impact on the demand for workers. This implies looking for new investments to achieve a higher rate of employment (23).

But the hidden reason for the imbalance between production and consumption is the exploitation of the capitalist organisers, for it is they who dominate production. They decide to increase or decrease investments for economic, political or psychological considerations. The conduct of those exploiting man, trying to maintain exploitation and achieve profit, plays an essential role in investment fluctuations which financially affect workers in industries. This in turn affects other industries, creating instability in those industries.

Those changes and fluctuations of the demand for capital industries products have a direct impact on the demand for workers, because the demand for labour is related to the demand for goods. If the consumer stops asking for a a commodity, the organiser controls and limits production, to avoid stockpiling. This sequence obviously leads the organiser to decrease the number of workers to avoid loss, which results in widespread unemployment. This is how unemployment is linked to the exploitation factors. On the other hand, employers who exploit the productive capacities of workers, by paying them wages that do not correspond to the hours worked, and by an excess in production, produce goods for which there are no buyers, thus increasing the wealth of the capitalist class through the exploitation of the working class (24).

But also unemployment plays a role, as it results in the decrease of prices and the increase of competition. In addition, the development of

more machines, and the substitution of workers by thoses machines, (following the progress of technology) aiming at the concentration of capital industries in a small number of large production units, result in the problem of unemployment, the role of which is repeated (25). This means that it is inherent in the capitalist system to have different consecutive economic cycles of stagnation and activity, characterised by periods of severe unemployment (26).

8. Impact of exploitation on pricing by illegal methods.

Prices in the capitalist system are based on exploitation. They do not contribute to the complete economy of society by distributing its productive resources. Production is related to demand, but this demand is not always based on practicality. The consumer is often influenced by publicity and advertisements by the producers which induce him to spend his money in a manner that does not necessarily ensure the best satisfaction of his needs, being geared towards luxury articles. Production is directed, in relation to exploitation and the purchasing capacity, towards those articles which are not of common benefit, but that are of interest to a limited category only, while a large section of society remains unable to get sufficient necessary goods to satisfy their essential needs. In addition, the prices, as we have seen, are not fixed according to supply and demand and to competition between producers, but are a result of the domination of the monopolist production powers which alone can fix the volume and supply of products. Thus exploitation controls the volume of production of some products, keeping it under what the normal conditions of the market require (27). This causes the governments of some countries to intervene by enacting special legislations to limit this control through exploitation, such as taxing luxury articles to limit their production.

9. Impact of exploitation as a cause of colonialism.

The basic feature of the capitalist system is the concentration of production and capital in a particular class. This class collaborates to

mantain its wealth, through keeping the markets under their domination. Exploitation, including competition and monopoly to ensure profit, aims at ensuring a surplus of production. But this surplus of production may exceed the national needs, especially as income in the capitalist countries is not equally distributed among individuals, which creates great disparities, resulting in different classes of society. The poor cannot satisfy their need for manufactured products, and do not create a demand for them, as they do not have the means to purchase them. Thus demand within the country is unable to absorb all the production, which threatens the capitalists. Therefore, the capitalist class struggles, with all the means at its disposal, and uses its influence to direct the leaders and to pursuade them to extend the economic influence of the country. The State seeks external markets, subduing weak nations and annexing them as colonies or colonising them economically to guarantee obtaining the raw materials needed by its industries (28).

Capitalism, having reached this level of exploitation, can push the authorities to intervene beyond national borders, to protect its interests. The different kinds of intervention in the life of peoples, both in the past and recently, all over the world, are only forms of economic colonization based on the domination of capital.

Many powerful countries have occupied weak ones, on the pretext of defending and protecting them, as was the case in India and some African countries. The current struggles between the big powers are only forms of competition and exploitation at the international level. Expansionism, whether by military force or political negotiations, is only a means of domination and exploitation. Wars themselves are merely a consequence of this domination.

We have now reviewed some of the forms of exploitation in the capitalist system. But, is there exploitation in the socialist system ? What are its forms, and what are the solutions proposed by the exponents of this system which they consider capable of eliminating exploitation ? Have they really succeeded, and which form of socialism has achieved this aim ? We shall examine these questions in our discussion of exploitation in the socialist system.

Chapter II
EXPLOITATION IN THE SOVIET SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

Section I
AREAS OF EXPLOITATION IN THE SOVIET SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

1. Exploitation in the context of ownership.

The Soviet socialist doctrine is based, in relation to ownership, on the assumption that the State is the sole owner of all assets ; the sums allocated to the public authorities are under the effective control of those authorities which have the right to own, use, and dispose of assets (Article 94 of the Civil Code of the USSR). Article 95 of this code defines the right of ownership as follows :

> "The State owns the land and what lies underground, water, the forests, plants, factories, ..., and any other asset."
> Article 3 of the Principles of Land Legislation in the USSR, also provides that "land in the USSR is owned by the State."

We may conclude from this that the State, in the Soviet socialist system, also owns the means of production, and thus controls the management of all this property. Generally, the rights of use, exploitation and disposal, which the law of ownership provides for, all belong to the State. No individual has the right to dispose of this wealth. This means that the people, according to this doctrine, are not the owners, State capitalism replaces individual capitalists. Some Marxist theoreticians justify this ownership of socialist capitals by the State, by claiming that this ownership is vested in the workers, farmers and the working classes of the society which constitute the socialist state. But while this point of view means that a large section of society is free from capitalist domination and exploitation, it is not free from the exploitation of the State. The working class, which constitutes the largest part of the Soviet socialist society, is still exploited by the ruling party which has political authority over the economy, which gives it the right to use, manage and dispose of the economy and finance. This concept appears in Article 2 of the Soviet Constitution, which

considers that the party is the highest political power responsible for ruling, planning and fixing prices and incomes. Thus, in the Soviet system, it is the Communist party which manages the property of society or the nation, and, being in this position, it is the owner of the socialist capital on behalf of the State, and is free to use it as it sees fit. It has the sole right to manage and use this property and to distribute income and production. Those privileges are the result of a party in power dominating the people and exploiting them. A tangible proof of this is that the people do not effectively participate in the management of economic projects ; in addition to which producers do not receive any part of the income (29). Thus, ownership in the USSR is given to the working people, but this description of the ownership of land and production tools only aims at giving it the appearance of democracy, while it means, in reality, the deprivation of the people of the rights proceeding from ownership, such as the right of use and disposal. The State is the legal entity representing the people and expressing its needs, but there is a big difference (for the people) between being represented and having their needs expressed, and the actual enjoyment of rights. The representation of the people is confined to the high authorities, and the party leaders are free to act as they please. So there is a big difference between the effective owner, in the legal sense of ownership, and the theoretical owner.

The owner in the USSR is always a public person, either the State or a public project, for, although the public entity consists of individuals forming a legal unit having the right of representation, the State (being the representative of the whole nation), the management, use and disposal of the socialist ownership are given to the public project which is also a legal entity, having the rights of management, use and disposal on behalf of the State (30).

Thus, the people cannot benefit from ownership. People who cannot dispose of what they own are oppressed. Representation, as a justification of democracy in those systems, is only an authority granted to a certain class, a ruling power or a party to exploit the resources and efforts of the people. This is the great deception in the concept of democracy, aimed in fact at exploiting the capacities and production of the people, under the guise of democracy.

In the light of the above, it may be worthwhile to review some of the criteria of ownership in the socialist system, and to examine the loopholes which permit exploitation.

2. The employment criterion

Upon examination of the laws governing ownership in the USSR, we note that they make the employment of hired labour a criterion for socialist ownership (31). Every project that employs workers is included in the socialist ownership of the State. But this criterion is not sufficient to eliminate exploitation, because there are certain assets which may be exploited through individual work, without need of hired workers, and which nevertheless can be a source of increasing wealth, to the detriment of society, and not corresponding to individual efforts or work. This profit may result from economic or social conditions, such as private trade and financial speculations (32). This undoubtedly leads to the exploitation of society.

3. The criterion of exploitation in the ownership of the means of production

State ownership of the means of production is sufficient evidence of exploitation, because this system means that exploitation is concentrated in a particular class or authority, and that the people have no effective authority as regards the tools and means of production. This system establishes a bureaucracy, because the management of these production means, requires an administration to ensure its functioning and use. The personnel of such an administration, whatever their experience, do not represent the interests of the people, but are in conflict with the workers. The system is contradictory to the workers' interests, because it does not allow them to enjoy their right to control the ways and means of production, which is contrary to the democratic and social concepts of management. In addition to that, the behaviour of bureaucracy in management may deviate from the interests of the workers, because no matter to what extent the administrative

personnel may care about these interests, the workers are best aware of their own interests, as well as sensitive issues created by this system between the management and workers, which may have a detrimental effect on production. Thus, state ownership of the means of production has been unable to eliminate the disadvantages of the capitalist system, but has maintained the bureaucracy existing in this system. On the one hand, Soviet socialism has not provided a remedy against exploitation for the benefit of the workers (33), while on the other hand, it has not achieved socialism in its real sense, but has retained a capitalist character. All we can say is that the State has replaced the capitalist class of the capitalist system, against the interests of the workers who remain subjected by the State. The only change has been a shift in the base of exploitation. The workers' capacities and efforts, which are a commodity sold to the capitalist, are sold to the State in the Soviet socialist system. The dependence link (34) still exists in this case (contrary to the aims of socialism) which does not believe in the enslavement of one man by another, and conflicts with the principle of socialism advocated by the USSR : "To each according to his effort".

Retention of the wage system is contradictory to this principle, because wages cannot eliminate exploitation, nor can financial incentives, which are only a trick to keep the workers subjected to the wage system. This system is not viable because of the discrepancies it creates in wages between workers doing the same job, resulting in discrimination, inequality, and sensitivities between workers, as well as being detrimental to the further development of production.

The proper solution is to put the means of production under the effective control and management of the workers, and to consider them as partners, not employees. *The Green Book* has ensured this, as we shall see later.

4. Criterion of land-use exploitation

The criterion determining the phenomenon of exploitation in the use of land is the use of hired labour and sub-letting these lands. This criterion exists in the USSR because the Land Law does not provide

for the prohibition of the employment of hired labour to use the land, thus allowing the exploitation of one man by another, to obtain income through the employment and exploitation of others. Consequently, the use of land ensures illegal income.

Another point against the socialist system in the USSR is that it authorizes sub-letting land : "Kolkhozs, sofkhozs, and other undertakings and enterprises as provided for by the law, may sublet some of the lands allocated to them (35)".

Under this provision, a farmer using land may let this land and obtain an undeserved income, without doing productive work. This is an obvious exploitation, a return to the rental system that exists in the capitalist system.

This contradicts the aim of the socialist system which refuses, by its nature, income that is not based on individual effort (36). Obtaining income through sub-letting is the height of exploitation, the acceptance of which is a denial of the socialist doctrine, and a tendency towards capitalism and bourgeoisie.

Land use in the agricultural sector, especially the acceptance of the principle of land ownership and use in the USSR (Article 117 of the Civil Code), still reflects aspects of capitalism and private ownership. It seems that this was noticed and criticised a long time ago, but Stalin justified the establishment of the right to use and own land in the socialist system, in the light of the transitory conditions prevailing at that time, explaining that it was only temporary, until the collective farms were completed and able to produce on their own, and until the farmers were ready for collective work and land use (37). But the land use statute is still valid, and so is the rental statute (Articles 275 to 295 of the Soviet Civil Code), the letting of houses statute (Article 295 to 302 of the Soviet Civil Code), as well as sub-letting of houses (Article 302 to 336 of the Soviet Civil Code), and the administrative eviction of tenants or occupants (Articles 336 to 341 of the Soviet Civil Code).

All these aspects are indicative of a capitalist nature, proving that exploitation is still inherent to this system, and reflecting a capitalist ideology of exploitation.

5. Criterion of the exploitation of the working class

Marx considered that the working class was exploited in the capitalist system. But if work, according to this system, is a commodity like any other, it is, for the worker, the labour of his muscles, nerves and physical activity (38). The employer buys this labour force for a price which can be determined like the price of any other commodity. But how many hours are necessary to produce this workforce ?

According to Marx, this number of hours is equivalent to the worker's requirements for living, such as food, housing and clothing, to satisfy his essential needs. Thus the employer, in the capitalist system, pays the worker the value of these needs ; if this value is equivalent to the value of six hours of work, for example, the worker gets in cash a wage equal to this value. This barter of workforce against the cash value paid is balanced, but the capitalist who buys a workforce for the value of six hours of work, makes the worker work for more than this value, let us say 10 hours, during which the worker produces goods sold in the market for a price corresponding to the number of hours spent on it, according to the value theory. The employer benefits from the difference between the value of hours he pays to the worker as wages, and the price he gets from the sale of the goods. This difference constitutes the capitalist profit.

Marx concluded that capitalists exploited their workers, paying them the value of basic requirements, while employing them for a number of hours higher than for which they were paid. This difference of four hours in the example cited, is in fact the exploitation of the working class in the Marxist theory. Thus the profit of the capitalist results from the exploitation of the working class. But this criterion of exploitation expressed by Marx still exists, because the difference in value has merely been diverted from the capitalist to the State in the Marxist socialist system.

It seems to us that the disadvantages of both the capitalist and Soviet socialist systems have led to the emergence of a new theory, which opposes exploitation, and aims at establishing a satisfied and just society.

This brings us to the reasons for the emergence of the Third Universal Theory.

Chapter III
EXPLOITATION IN THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

INTRODUCTION

The thinker who elaborated this theory for a new solution to the economic problem, said that "The economic problem has not been solved by the application of the capitalist theory. On the contrary, this system has very badly affected the poor, who, have no money, through being exploited and dominated by the rich with the rich monopolizing economic activities (such as the domination of capitalist companies and large factories), so making life difficult for others. Nevertheless, this system is suffering from many problems, such as unemployment, with strikes spreading, affecting services and public utilities, and the problem of over-production, beyond the requirements of the market, resulting in a decrease of prices, according to the principle of supply and demand, resulting in turn in a decrease of wages to ensure profit (39). In addition, some capitalist industries may even try to promote the sale of their products by committing crimes, such as genocide in the Vietnam war, in which capitalism played an important role. Armaments are produced in the United States of America by private companies, looking for markets for their products. It is, of course, evil to instigate a war in which people are killed, simply to find a market for arms.

The small capitalists and the small companies cannot compete with the large ones. The system being free, large companies decrease their production and fix their prices below those of smaller companies. This price-cutting makes people buy from the big companies, which results in the bankruptcy of the smaller ones. At this point, the big companies again raise their prices much higher than they had been originally, to compensate for the initial decrease. This affects the economy and kills the small industries. In addition to the problems mentioned above, other problems face the capitalists, the workers, or the State itself.

The State suffers from the problem of capitalism, because capitalism interferes in government, creates parties, and influences

the election of presidents in the capitalist countries. It looks for markets to ensure profit, and uses government agencies for this purpose (40).

We notice, from this review, that the free doctrine is based on exploitation in every sphere. As regards workers and wages, the profit goes to the capitalist ; and prices are based on monopoly.

These disadvantages of the capitalist system have a counter-reaction in the context of the communist doctrine, which, instead of dealing with the idea of free ownership, only transfer this right to the State, with nothing belonging to the people. The opponents of the communist doctrine criticised this fact, considering that Marxism had taken away the freedom of the individual, making him a slave as in the West, where he is a slave of capital. The theoretician concludes that the communist doctrine did not solve the problem, because of many weaknesses, such as :

1. Communism suffers from problems other than social ones.
2. Man has no freedom according to doctrine, for he does not have the right to own or dispose of anything.
3. Abolition of private ownership, and the consequent employment of people in other than private properties, have killed the incentives to work.
4. As the workers own nothing, but only receive wages in return for their labour, they are uninterested in increasing the production of the enterprises in which they are employed.
5. The undertakings where the workers' work belongs to the State, not to an individual or a group. They are public or common property, and are therefore lacking in incentives.
6. As the workers expect no profit, and the State guarantees their wages, no efforts are made to increase productivity (41).

Some communist leaders tried to reduce the effects of these negative aspects through some pseudo-solutions ; such as profit-sharing by the workers by giving them some incentives, and the recognition of small properties in all the communist States, because it is necessary for the individual to have something of his own, to have an incentive to work (42).

Thus, small ownership appeared in the USSR since the Krushchev era, and limited ownership appeared in Yugoslavia, where anyone has the right to have his own business, employing not more than five

workers, provided that he guarantees all the benefits that the State gives to workers, such as salary, pension, and social security. If the number exceeds five, the business is nationalised.

It is obvious from these weak points, that exploitation still exists, that these systems failed to resolve the economic problem, that the solutions proposed to eliminate exploitation jeopardized freedom, and that (in the name of eliminating exploitation and increasing public awareness) the system has turned (in some Communist countries) into a dictatorship over the working class and the people, with a certain category or minority ruling on their behalf without consultation, except to the extent of agreeing to resolutions already taken by the bureaucratic higher authorities. In addition, those solutions aimed at the elimination of exploitation resulted in the State taking the place of the exploiting capitalists, and also in creating indifference and negative attitudes on the part of workers. In this respect, the thinker Muammar Qathafi believes that : "The communist economy deprived the citizen of his freedom and made him a slave of the State, because the State owns his means of subsistence. This is the moral aspect. As for the material aspect, the communist economy is suffering from a lack of production incentives for workers. They try to remedy the short comings embodied in the bureaucracy, but they have all become State employees, and the State provides them with everything, creating indifference and a negative attitude (42)".

He concludes : "Neither capitalism nor Communism is a solution. This is why other nations, which are neither capitalist nor Communist, have sought other solutions. And so socialism came into being as a solution. But what is the form of socialism that exist at present ? At this stage, the thinker reviews the aspects of traditional socialism in some Arab countries. He considers its most important features to be the following :

1. Limitation of the ownership of agricultural lands to about 100 hectares or 50 hectares for irrigated lands, while ownership of houses is unlimited.

2. Limitation of income : the individual is free to earn about £ 100,000. Amounts in excess of this limit are subject to progressive taxes.

3. Participation of workers in management, and profit-sharing for workers, within limits which vary between 10 per cent, 15 per cent or 25 per cent, with the balance of the profits going to the owner, whether a public or private company. One or two workers share in management but this participation is fictitious and ineffective.

4. The State owns the means of production, which results in the creation of the public sector where workers are exploited, while the profits of this sector allegedly go to society. The State uses this justification to take the profits for itself, in the name of the common interest.

This review of the aspects of traditional socialism reveals the following faults and weaknesses which characterise it :

a) It is unstable, oscillating between capitalism and Communism. The private sector, which is an aspect of capitalism in the West, exists in it, giving it the disadvantages of the capitalist system. The public sector represents the communism of the East, it is a State monopoly, which means ownership by the State.

b) Profits are unevenly distributed, with 25 per cent going to the workers, and 75 per cent being taken by the owners of private companies. This profit is a result of the workers' efforts, and is much higher than their share.

c) The workers are employees, whether they work in the public or private sector, and they are still prepared to strike to improve their conditions of employment.

d) The workers are always anxious, whether they are employed by the public or private sector, as they are always threatened by unemployment or the termination of their employment. The guarantees provided under labour legislation are not sufficient nor radical remedies, but only arbitrary and one for the problem of exploitation. This anxiety is also felt by the owners of private enterprises, because they are threatened by nationalisation or seisure. This induces the smuggling of funds to avoid progressive taxes or laws limiting income, which leads to social deviation and corruption.

e) There is a conflict between the private and public sectors, based on competition. The public sector eliminates the private one in the name of eliminating exploitation, but in fact increases exploitation,

having eliminated competitors, and increases prices to compensate for its losses.

All these traditional socialist experiments are only arbitrary solutions, and are unable to achieve the form of socialism which aims at achieving the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, they have made people unhappy and anxious about their freedom, money and possessions.

He concludes that the traditional socialism which now exists in the third world will inevitably turn into Communism or capitalism. Thus this system which exists in the Third World is not stable from the purely economic point of view. "This is why it is necessary to find a definitive and proper solution to this economic problem, to prevent a return to capitalism or a shift to Communism. We do not want man to be a slave of the State, nor the State to own his means of subsistence, and to be his employer. We do not want men to be cogs in the same piece of machinery, deprived of freedom and sovereignty. We do not want the problem of under-production which faces Communism and which threatens its economy in the long term, neither do we want the bureaucracy of the Communist State, the bureaucracy of the public sector".

"It is difficult for man to think about the State, to be sincere and to produce for it, because it is in the nature of man to be devoted to work which gives him a direct income, especially as regards economy and ownership. We do not want either the capitalist system with its disadvantages, where the rich dominate the poor, direct the State and control the means of subsistence of the people. We do not want the return of the exploitation of one man by another, nor do want monopolies".

Thus, the thinker Muammar took the following decision :

"We should resolve the economic problem in a way which does not maintain the capitalist system or the Communist system, nor the existing socialist system, which ultimately leads to one of the two other systems. This assumption means that if we can find a new solution to the economic problem, it will be neither capitalist nor Communist ; it will be a third theory, and if it resolves the problem it will be a third solution, that is the Third Theory".

These are the reasons for consideration of the Third Universal Theory, and the reasons for presenting it. What are the aspects of exploitation that it resolves in the context of the economic problem ?

This brings us to an examination of the meaning of exploitation and the means of combating exploitation presented in *the Green Book.*

1. The concept of exploitation and its meaning in the *Green Book*

Exploitation is an imbalance in the economic structure, meaning an unequal exchange of commodities between the members of society. In the capitalist societies, the needy are unable to achieve their requirements, and are subject to an unequal exchange of labour for commodities or for material return. This situation is caused by the exploitation of the needy by the class which is in a position to control the provision of the requirements of the individual.

Exploitation in this concept is not restricted to a particular phenomenon, but is, in fact, the basis of class struggle, which is described as follows in *the Green Book :*

1. The inequal distribution of wealth.
2. The domination by one class of the wealth and the means of production.
3. The domination by a particular sector of the various human requirements.
4. Consumption without production.
5. Savings in excess of requirements.

The Green Book gives this partial list of the various aspects of exploitation, in addition to which the thinker Muammar gives several other examples of exploitative practices : "A contractor who enslaves and exploits his workers, who used to exploit the Libyan people, to exploit humanity, to make profit at their expense, and who used to consume without producing. Consumers used to go to shops to purchase the goods they needed at a high price ; they then suffered from high prices and from the high cost of living, but were unable to understand the reasons until the revolution opened their eyes and explained to them that they were exploited by the merchants. The reason for this exploitation was the free-trade system, as trade is an

exploitative phenomenon under which the merchant is a consumer but not a producer, a system in which the merchants exploit others and make a profit at their expense, a system in which the only effort he makes is to raise the prices of goods at the expense of the consumers (43)".

Exploitation therefore in the view of *the Green Book* is not merely an imbalance or an inequality in the exchange of commodities, regardless of the reasons for this. It views the phenomenon of exploitation from a strictly legal point of view, and has defined the concept of exploitation as being based on a deviation from the laws of justice and nature.

The Green Book considers that exploitation covers all forms of transgression of the natural laws ; such as the ownership of land by a particular class, working in exchange for wages, leasing real estate, the pursuit of commercial activities, and saving in excess of individual requirements.

These aspects of exploitation are discussed in *The Green Book,* which makes a thorough study of the origins of exploitation, its causes, criteria and manifestation, from which it proceeds to a proposal of radical solutions for the elimination of exploitation.

2. The origins of exploitation

In the light of our study of *The Green Book*, and the practical application of its concept in the Jamahiriya, and as a result of our study of the various aspects of exploitation, we conclude that *The Green Book* establishes in its three parts, the basis of human, political, economic and social relationships on natural law. *The Green Book* states quite clearly that natural laws are the sole criterion and reference, and the only source of human relationships. This is elaborated by the statement that the concept of natural law is that it is a law imposed by logic, before which all people are equal. Natural law differs from divine laws and from religion, for natural law preceded religion, although religions take natural law into consideration (44). *The Green Book* therefore deals with the economic problem in a logical manner and in the light of natural laws, considering that any departure or deviation from these laws is, in fact, a deviation from the

nature of human life. It is on the basis of this criterion that *The Green Book* judges the economic system and other systems as well.

It is also on this basis that *The Green Book* rejects the capitalist system, because it is based on exploitation, as previously indicated. Similary, it rejects Marxist socialism as well, because it is based on exploitation by the State, of the rightful ownership by the people of the means of production and of workers' wages. "The Third Universal Theory is a result of the controversial relationship between the Marxist theory and the capitalist theory. This is to say that it is a third thesis on the controversial relationship between the two previous ones, considering that the problem cannot be solved by either (45)".

Considering that natural laws are the basis upon which this theory is founded in its approach to the economic problem, what then is its attitude toward exploitation, and what are the solutions expressed in *The Green Book,* in its effort to overcome the various aspects of exploitation at a practical level and in its application ? The core of all the solutions resides in the elimination of exploitation. Corruption and deviation are attributable to exploitation in all fields of economic activity.

This is a deviation from natural law, and is the conclusion reached by the thinker Muammar through is study of human life and activities. He concludes that the laws which govern human behaviour are in fact a reflection of that behaviour, established to protect it. He said in this respect that the problem arises when man interferes, out of the desire to exploit and to corrupt the natural laws, creating despicable laws in their place, in order to justify exploitation. This is contradictory to natural law, and whenever man breaks the natural law he finds himself in a position which is contradictory to the values of religion ; for whether religion be exemplary or natural, it is not a natural law, even though it is in harmony with it. Human life is completely in harmony with natural and divine law, because there is a harmony between various natural issues and the divine religions, with contradiction arising only when man deviates from the natural order of things (46).

In the light of this concept of exploitation being a deviation from natural law, and conceiving that natural law is in harmony with divine law, it follows that exploitation must be in conflict with divine law. On this point, *The Green Book* says that the natural rule is the proper one,

and that there can be no other course but a return to it, to seek a final solution to the economic problem, after the failure of all previous efforts which ignored these natural laws.

3. The reasons for exploitation

Exploitation is caused by need. *The Green Book* considers that need is the embodiment of the economic problem, and the prime motive for the existence of exploitation.

Need, therefore, is the prime motive for the exploitation of man by his fellow man ; it is a psychological matter, an indivisible part of human behaviour, in the search for the satisfaction of need. But does this necessarily mean that all action aimed at the satisfaction of need is tainted by exploitation, or that exploitation is embedded in the sole of every needy person ?

There can be no doubt that struggle is based on need, as every human being feels a desire to achieve some means to alleviate his sufferings, or to avoid suffering through being unable to satisfy a particular need. It is this desire which is the motive for the satisfaction of need, regardless of the nature of such a need, whether it be natural, acquired, material, moral, necessary, a luxury, legal or illegal, moral or amoral.

In mentioning the concept of need here, we do not intend to define need as an economic one alone, as we shall deal with means of satisfying need. We shall concentrate in our discussion on the economic means, because the concept of exploitation stems from the search for a means to satisfy needs.

A definition of need requires first of all an analysis of its elements, which are :

1. A feeling of suffering as a result of being deprived of something.
2. The search for the means to overcome this feeling of suffering.
3. Utilisation of these means to overcome the feeling of suffering.

The nature of needs (and whether they be economic or otherwise) is defined by the means used for their satisfaction. If the means are financial, the need must therefore be economic, and this is the question with which this paper is concerned.

The type of need which is of interest to us here is material need, which is the form of need tainted by exploitation. The satisfaction of need by persons who are able to pay the required price, transforms need from an inherent psychological feeling to an economic reality. The demand for the satisfaction of these needs affects prices or the exchange value, in addition to which it plays a fundamental role in determining the quantity and quality of production, and in determining the rise or fall of prices. This is the situation in the capitalist system, while demand influences the public authorities or planning under the Soviet system, in which it also controls consumption through price control within the limitations of the ability of the people to pay these prices.

According to Gossen's law, needs may be satisfied by instalments, (or gradually) according to the scale of importance of these needs. Furthermore, needs may be measured in terms of suffering, the degree of need felt by a strong man for milk differs on this scale from the need felt by a sick person for milk, or the need felt for it by an infant. The need felt by a hungry person for food is vastly different from that felt by a man whose appetite has been satisfied. The latter may require clothing, but not food. Need can therefore be measured by certain criteria, which are influenced by the time factor. For example, a sick person's need for drugs during convalescence differs from his need for medication at the height of his sickness. Need may also be measured by the degree of its importance, according to the degree of its necessity or to the priority of one need with regard to another. A hungry man's need for food is obviously more important and more pressing than his need for clothing. Another characteristic of need is the possibility of finding a replacement solution for the satisfaction of a particular need. Man's need for meat, can be satisfied by eggs as a substitute. Whether the replacement value be complete or not is purely a question of personal priorities.

All these factors plays a basic role in the phenomenon of exploitation. The degree of exploitation is established by the availability or scarcity of an item, by the demand on it, by its acceptance, and by the availability of means to obtain this item, that is to say to satisfy that particular need. If there is a strong demand on a particular item, its producer will raise its price and will control its

availability, thus creating a situation in which exploitation exists. Should a producer be aware that the substitute for an item which is in demand is in itself in demand, he will seek to control this second substitute item, thereby creating a monopoly, wich is a further form of exploitation.

In dealing with the question of the economic problem, *The Green Book* puts forward the thesis that need is the real problem, and that struggle arises when a particular body or individual controls human needs. It follows, therefore, that exploitation is caused by need.

4. The criteria of exploitation in *the Green Book*

The Green Book has established criteria of exploitation on two bases : objective and personal.

The personal criterion

The Green Book establishes the employment of labour as a prerequisite for the personal criterion. Any income obtained through the employment of labour is an illegal income, it is exploitation and slavery. In this context, the personal criteria means the preservation of human liberty and dignity. It says that the livelihood of any human in a socialist society should not be derived through wages from any body or institution. Employment of labour is the exploitation of the employee by the employer, making the former dependent on the latter. This relation of dependency, even if it be only temporary, deprives the employee of his liberty and makes him, in fact, a prisoner of his employer. The principle of employment in return for wages creates exploitation, no matter how high the wages may be, because they cannot replace production, as the surrender by the worker of his production in exchange for wages contraditcts the rule that "he who produces is he who consumes". This is referred to in *The Green Book,* which says that a solution through the payment of is closer to charity than to a recognition of the rights of workers, and that no matter how workers' wages may be improved, they remain a type of slave.

The Green Book notes that the relationship between a wage earner and an employer is merely a relationship of dependency, which exists only so long as the employment continues. Dependency embodies slavery, and therefore detracts from human dignity. An employer completely controls a worker's life, he dominates him and deprives him of his liberty and human dignity. The worker becomes little more than a machine used by the employer as a means of production, giving it only enough maintenance to ensure that it continues to produce. This dependency or enslavement remains the same, regardless of whether the employer is a natural person or an institution, because the wage system by its nature enforces dependency. In its analysis of this phenomenon, *The Green Book* says that a wage earner is more like a slave to his master who pays his wages. He is, in fact, a temporary slave whose enslavement remains so long as he continues to be employed in return for wages paid by the employer, regardless of whether the employer be an individual or a government. The sole relationship between the wage earners and the employer or the enterprise in which they work is one of dependency and enslavement. They are wage earners under all the systems that exist everywhere in this world. Wages and social benefits are more comparable to charity granted by the rich owners of private economic establishments to their workers. The opposite of this concept as regards the personal criterion is that of legal gain, which is personal labour, meaning a person working for himself to satisfy his needs. This achieves the liberation of man and protects his freedom, because no man can be totally free and sovereign in his own right without the existence of two fundamental conditions :

1. The satisfaction of his needs.
2. The elimination of exploitation by others.

These two basic and fundamental requirements bring us to the two following important conclusions :

1. The need for the elimination of exploitation and domination.
2. The achievement of a just and equal distribution of wealth among the members of society.

The Green Books considers that the reason for the unequal and unjust distribution of wealth in society is the existence of this system of employment or enslavement, which is the employment of others to

satisfy one's needs, but which also goes beyond the simple satisfaction of personal needs, motivated by selfishness and exploitation. Exploiters know no limits, and this is what created classes, the poor class and the rich class. The existence of class distinctions has its roots in exploitation and in the employment of others. *The Green Book* says that a man who is dependent upon another for the satisfaction of his needs is not free, which leads us to the conclusion, so far as the personal criterion is concerned, that exploitation is based on the employment of others.

To sum up, *The Green Book* declares that the new socialist society is merely a result of a contradictory situation arising from the oppressive relationships which exist in this world, and which gave birth to the natural solution, which is private ownership to satisfy needs without the employment of others.

The objective criterion

This criterion is based on the nature of work and in domination of the needs of others. It exists regardless of the concept of the employment of labour, even personal labour. The ownership of land, saving beyond one's actual requirements, the renting of houses, and commercial activities are all aspects of exploitation by their very nature.

This criterion is based on the nature of work ; *The Green Book* has established a number of rules in this connection which deal with exploitative work. It considers that exploitation exists in any form of work where there is ownership by an individual of a portion of the national wealth in excess of his needs through any form of labour, even if the personal criterion, that is to say the employment of labour, is non-existent. *The Green Book* explains this idea by comparing the wealth of society to a storehouse of basic food commodities which issues a certain quantity of these commodities every day to a certain number of people, which is sufficient to satisfy the daily requirements of those people. Should the storehouse wish to save anything, it should do so from its own share. Any person who does otherwise is an exploiter, taking more than he actually needs. *The Green Book* considers that this form of exploitation contains an element of harmful

intent. As well as the materialist factor embodied in the desire to lay hands on material objects which are rightly owned by the people, which is a crime equivalent to theft. *The Green Book* says that every individual is free to save what he wants from his own share, that is to say that he is free to consume as much of his share as he wishes, whereas a person who wrongfully uses his abilities to obtain more than his just share from the public storehouse to add it to his own (over and above his just needs) is undoubtedly a thief.

A man's basic needs are sacred and should not be subject to exploitation or enslavement. No person should be permitted to own more than he really requires, because by doing so he is depriving others of their basic needs, and therefore depriving them of their liberty and welfare. *The Green Book* describes the basic human requirements as clothing, food, transportation and housing — the ownership of which must be private and sacred, and which should not be rented from any institution whatsoever. If these needs can only be obtained in exchange for a rental, their owner interferes in the individual's private life and controls the individual's basic requirements. In so doing he controls the individual's liberty and deprives him of his welfare. The owner of rented clothes could very well stop the individual who has rented them, in the street, and deprive him of his clothing. The owner of a rented vehicle could also force the individual to stop and leave him standing by the wayside, and the owner of a house could easily evict his tenants and leave them without shelter.

The Green Book considers that the triumph of these needs is in fact a betrayal of human liberty and a means of exploitation whose sole aim is profit. Profit is therefore an indicator of exploitation which knows no limits. The more profit a person makes, the more he wants, and it is practically impossible to control this by any method, even the imposition of controlled prices. There is always a way around any of these measures, which is most obvious in the capitalist countries which adopt measures of intervention to limit exploitation and profits. In its study of this phenomenon, *The Green Book* said that recognition of profit is, in fact, a recognition of exploition, because mere recognition does not limit it, and any measures taken to limit profit are merely shallow attempts to prevent the exploitation of one man by another.

5. Aspects of exploitation, and the approach adopted by *the Green Book* with regard to these aspects.

The Green Book discusses several aspects of exploitation, and proposes various means to deal with them. It sums up the aspects of exploitation as being embodied in the means of production, wages, rentals, and commercial enterprises.

Means of production : land exploitation

Land is the foremost means of production, it is the basis of all life and the means whereby man continues to exist. It is therefore natural that it should be for everybody, to be enjoyed by all as they enjoy the sun, for example. No one should be permitted to own land, but simply to benefit from it, such benefit being a natural right. Land is a natural resource, a common property, and no individual should be allowed to exploit an element of nature. Exploitation began when human laws permitted the ownership of land, for which several justifications have been made over the centuries. One of these was that made by the physiocrats in France, who justified the ownership of land on the basis of effort and work by the owner. The recognition of the right of private ownership created an imbalance and led to the existence of different classes in the society.

However, work alone cannot justify the ownership of land, although productive work could give the producer the right to own his produce. It would therefore appear that anybody who has contributed to the creation of something, or who has introduced an amendment or a development, has the right to own the results of this production. It would also appear that this is applicable only to movable property, but not to land, because land has existed since the day of creation. Therefore, if a person were to build a house on a piece of land, the house would be the result of his labour and he would have the right to own it, but he would not have the right to own the land on which it is built, as this would open the way for exploitation. There is also the view that ownership of this sort provides an income without the expenditure of any labour, in addition to which land resources are limited and do

not increase with population increases, which means that increased ownership by one person means depriving another person of ownership. It has been said on the basis of this theory that ownership of this sort is a form of theft, and the exponents of this idea would have it that land ownership places the owner in a position of domination and sovereignty, and that any production which is not the result of labour is in fact a form of theft, — the owner having produced something from nothing. In this context, agricultural land should not be owned, while every individual should have the right (with his family) to exploit the land, by planting it to the extent of his ability, and he should also have the right to own the fruits of his labour on this land. However, this labour should not give them the right of ownership, which is in fact the natural law.

Labour is the criterion of ownership ; it should only apply to movable goods, and despite this, it is in itself insufficient, but requires some form of control to establish equality among people, in such a manner as to achieve an equality in labour within certain limits which are sufficient to achieve the ultimate goal, which is to live on a basis of equality. Ownership should not exceed the limits of the satisfaction of basic needs, and should not extend to that which is in excess of this requirement. If this were to happen, ownership would extend to taking over the ownership of the property of others, which is unacceptable in the Jamahiriya system. As *The Green Book* says, "That which is in excess of your requirements represents the requirements of others".

Ownership has a social and an economic function, and ownership should not therefore be restricted to particular individuals, as this creates class distinctions and feudalism. Ownership of the land by a certain class which does not contribute any labour is a form of exploitation. In addition, land has always been a cause of dispute and conflict, and this is why *The Green Book*, in its struggle for the elimination of exploitation, proposes a system which is at once economic and social. It has solved the housing problem, which is endemic all over the world, by declaring that all houses should be owned by their inhabitants. In this way, it has guaranteed housing for all the members of the community, within the limits of the ownership of one house. *The Green Book* has also put an end to real estate speculation (which knows no limits) and which used to exist under the

system of free ownership. This sort of speculation was based on exploitation and corruption, as the freedom to own land opened the way to the rich to seek further means of exploitation. This system enabled them to buy low-priced agricultural land, then to use their influence to change the zoning laws governing this agricultural land, then to sub divide it into building lots, thereby making huge profits without having done any actual work. This illegal accumulation of wealth erodes the solidarity of the community, which is then replaced by struggle and hatred. It is therefore necessary to put an end to this situation, which has been achieved by *The Green Book.* It has succeeded in overcoming this tragedy by keeping land off the market, and by clearly defining land allocated for building, and land to be used for agricultural purposes, while guaranteeing sufficient land to each individual for a home, and exploiting the land for the benefit of all the members of the community (while prohibiting its ownership).

Thus the traditional concept of ownership which is based on three elements (namely investment, use and disposal) has been replaced by a natural socialist concept. *The Green Book* refuses the form of direct exploitation of the land by planting it, or the indirect exploitation of the land through renting it to others. In this manner, *The Green Book* has overcome the exploitation of one of the most important means of production, and has given a human dimension to the concept of the exploitation and use of the means of production, on the basis of the satisfaction of individual needs, in the context of the interests of the people. All this has been achieved in order to eliminate the exploitation of one man by another, and the exploitation by individuals of the property rights of the people.

The Green Book has given ownership a social function, on the basis of guaranteeing the rights of the people and prohibiting the ownership of public land, which is the right of the community for the benefit of all the people. *The Green Book* said that land should not be owned by anyone, but that everyone should have the right to exploit it and benefit from it, by planting it or by using it for grazing in his lifetime and for the lifetime of his heirs, within the limits of his own efforts, without employing anybody else either in return for wages or otherwise, and within the limits of the satisfaction of his own needs. *The Green Book* does not give any limitation of time to exploitation, it considers that if land is

owned by those living at present, exploitation must necessarily remain with regard to future generations. Ownership of land by present generations would necessarily deprive future ones of their rightful ownership. By freeing land from individual ownership, *The Green Book* guarantees that the right to exploit the land and to benefit from it remains for the passage of time,with the passage of time, with the land remaining a constant, and the beneficiaries changing.

The Green Book considers that the wealth of the community should be owned by the community, and that no individual should have the right to transgress this ownership, or to seize part of it from the community, on the basis of the principle that ownership is sacred. The exponent of this theory has said that "Your right to own your house is sacred, your livelihood which you produce through your labour is your sacred property, but what can be said about the feudalist which extends his ownership to all the land ? This is owned by the people, the land must be divided up among all the people, and the reserves must remain for the people, houses should be divided among the people, and the reserves should be kept for the people".

Therefore, no individual has the right to seize part of our public property and to exploit it by constructing buildings which he then rents to us or sells to us. An individual should have the right to only one house, in keeping with the principle of the house being the property of its occupant. The house should be free of any form of monopoly and should be owned by its occupants, and with the achievement of this another form of exploitation is eliminated.

Renting is another phenomenon of exploitation. Tenants cannot possibly be happy, a family living in a house which it does not own is an unhappy family, as it is not free in its own house and under the roof which covers it. The reason is that the house is owned by someone else, which is an embodiment of the relationship between exploitation and liberty. Exploitation causes unhappiness because people who are exploited are enslaved, and no slave can be happy.

The Green Book has dealt with this phenomenon by declaring that the house is owned by its occupant, after having come to the conclusion that solutions adopted in other countries, such as rent control or the reduction of rents, were not radical and final solutions. It is therefore essential that every person should own the house in which

he lives, and it follows that the construction of a house with the intention of renting it is illegal in that it constitutes a domination of a need.

2. Exploitation in labour and wages

The Green Book considers that work opportunities in productive labour should be open to all, without exploitation, and in keeping with the principle of the satisfaction of the individual's basic needs. The satisfaction of individual requirements is contradictory to the existence of exploitation which creates class distinctions, and which is established at the expense of the basic needs of the individual. *The Green Book* has defined the nature of economic actvities and their objective in the socialist society, with the aim of eliminating exploitation. The objective is to achieve the welfare of all the members of the community, which cannot be achieved in the absence of material and moral liberty, which is based on the extent to which the individual possesses these personal requirements.

The Green Book has established a number of bases for the satisfaction of essential requirements, in the absence of exploitation, which can be summed up as follows :

First — economic activity in the new socialist society is a productive activity, the aim of which is the satisfaction of the material requirements of the individual.

This definition eliminates exploitation, which is a non-productive activity. Non-productive activities merely seek profit as their objective, with the aim of accumulating excessive savings over and above the normal requirements, which is of course unacceptable under the basic rules of the new socialism.

Second — economic activity in the new socialist society is conducted through individual labour, without the employment of others in return for wages or otherwise. The wage system is rejected by *The Green Book*, because it is a system based on exploitation, theft and enslavement. Employment of other persons is a form of slavery, and is in conflict with the objectives of the new socialist society, which is based on liberty and the achievement of human welfare. Ever since its

establishment, the wage system has been unable to achieve justice and workers' rights, and failed to satisfy their welfare. On the contrary, it has increased their suffering and deprivation, for the following reasons :

In the economic context :

1. The wage system deprives the worker of any rights (with respect to what he produces) whether his production be for the community, or for a private enterprise. Wages deprive workers from consuming their own production, in fact they cede their rights in exchange for the wages they receive. The proper rule is therefore "The producer should be the consumer".
2. The wage system does not give the workers an equal return for their production. It fails to establish a balanced relationship between the effort expended and the wages paid. The difference constitutes the profit obtained by the owner of the enterprise, whether he be an individual or the State itself. All efforts to rectify existing wage systems have disregarded a recognition of workers' rights.
3. The wage system destroys all incentives to increase productivity, which in turn leads to a reduction of national production.
4. The wage system does not contribute to a development and an increase of production, but rather leads to stagnation and disinterest. Workers in the wage system see no need for innovation or for thinking of ways to increase or to improve production, as their wages are fixed. The reason for this is that the worker considers that his products are not his property, and that there is therefore no need to improve it quantitatively or qualitatively.

In order to rectify this situation, and to overcome these negative aspects, *The Green Book* considered it essential that the worker should not be a wage earner but should have a share in the fruits of his production, that is to say that he should be a partner. This encourages an increase in production with the aim of satisfaction of the individual requirements, as increased production naturally leads to increased income for the productive partner, and subsequently to an increase in the national income. *The Green Book* expresses this very clearly when

it says that an individual who works for himself is devoted to his productive work, because his productive work will lead to a satisfaction of his material needs. It also said that a person who works as a partner in an enterprise is devoted to his productive work for the same reasons. However, an individual who works in return for wages has no incentives to be devoted to this work.

In the social context :

Wages have the following effects in the social context :

1. Wages create resentment and class struggle, due to the inequality of wages and to the job insecurity felt by workers, who never know when they may be dismissed.

2. The wage system firmly establishes oppression and enslave men, as the relationship between the worker and the employer is one of dependency.

In this respect, *The Green Book* says that wage earners, no matter how well paid, are a type of slave, because the wage earner is enslaved by his master, who buys his services. Ever worse, he is a temporary slave, whose enslavement lasts for the duration of his employment in return for wages paid by his master. Wage earners, regardless of whether they are employed by an individual or by an enterprise, are in fact enslaved. This applies to all the systems that exist at present in the world, regardless of the different forms of ownership on the right and on the left. Even publicly-owned economic enterprises only give their workers wages and certain social benefits, which are in fact a form of charity.

Third — economic activity in the new socialist society applies the principle of workers' participation in production, and has thereby overcome the exploitation that exists with private ownership of the means of production. It has achieved an equal distribution of labour, in accordance with the natural laws, to which *The Green Book* refers in the following terms : productive industrial establishments are based on raw materials, machinery and the workers. Production is achieved by combining these elements to produce a finished product

from the raw materials. The absence of any one of these three elements would make production impossible. Similarly, any one of these elements could not produce on its own. *The Green Book* establishes participation on a basis of equality, through which it achieves economic justice with regard to production in relation to the effort expended.

Fourth — economic activity in the new socialist society achieves equality and social justice, by granting the workers their share of production. Partnership involves sharing in responsibility and in decision-taking. And in the selection of the proper course of production. By eliminating exploitation, the following results were achieved :

1. The liberation of the worker from enslavement, dependence and oppression, and the achievement of his independence.
2. The develpment of production, quantitatively and qualitatively.
3. The increase of national income through an increase of productivity as a result of the introduction of incentives.
4. Increased economic integration, and the strong development of production.
5. The achievement of solidarity between the producers, with the common aim of satisfying the requirements of the community.
6. Provision of the requirements of the producers and of the community in accordance with a scale of priorities.
7. Control of the market by the producers, by elimination of monopoly and competition.

The Green Book considers that the achievement of partnership should be the prime objective of socialism, an aim which it considers must be achieved sooner or later : "The possibility of a revolution aimed at achieving socialism, begins with the workers taking over their share of their production, and will lead to a change in the objectives of workers' strikes from demands for increased wages, to demands for a share in production, which will be accomplished sooner or later by following the principles established by *The Green Book*".

3. Exploitation in commerce

Commerce is basically an increase of capital wealth, through buying and selling for profit. By its very nature, it involves monopoly and hoarding, and as such, is one of the phenomena of exploitation, based on controlling the needs of society. Merchants create competition, and are the main factor in price increases, for the sole purpose of profit. *The Green Book* rejects any form of exploitation and only recognises production for the satisfaction of the basic requirements. *The Green Book* considers commerce to be a non-productive activity, which is incompatible with the concept of productive labour which it has established, namely the expenditure of effort to create something or to develop it through industry or agriculture.

Commercial activity is a recognition of certain privileges and class discrimination, which is contradictory to the principle of equality before the law. *The Green Book* considers that any commercial activity is a form of exploitation, the sole aim of which is to make a profit.

The Green Book rejects any form of activity the purpose of which is profit, whether it be activity on the part of a merchant or any other individual, the sole criterion being the achievement of a profit through exploitation. Commercial activity does not involve introducing any changes or improvements to a particular product, which makes the merchant class sterile and non-productive.

The Green Book sums this up very aptly and concisely in the following terms : "Recognition of profit means recognition of exploitation".

The view may be expressed that exploitation of the consumers by the merchant class could be dealt with through price controls, and the imposition of fixed tariffs, and by preventing merchants from employing others, as well as the enforcement of rules to prevent fraud and monopolisation.

Experience in most countries which have applied fixed tariffs has shown that this system cannot be successfully applied to eliminate exploitation in the field of commerce. No legislation has been able to overcome greed and the desire for unlimited profit. The temptation is too great for a merchant to make a profit, espacially if he is in a position to monopolise a particular commodity on the market, to which *The*

Green Book refers as follows : "Mere recognition of profit cannot limit it. Various measures to limit profit have not proved to be a radical solution to prevent the exploitation of one man by another".

Exploitation in the field of commerce can take many forms, such as creating artificial shortages, hoarding, and moving supplies from one city to another to sell them at higher prices. The merchant class is an idle non-productive sector, which nevertheless controls the means of production in much the same fashion as the producers themselves, (which is a deviation from the natural law). Brother Mamwar clarified this concept when he said that : "Non-productive labour is easy and brings a quick profit without any production in return. For example, a merchant is totally non-productive because merchandise reaches his store without any real effort on his part, and he makes a profit at the expense of the consumer. There can therefore be no place for free trade because it is a phenomenon of exploitation, and merchants are totally non-productive. They will be replaced by people's stores, which will provide their services at cost price, as the people cannot possibly make a profit at their own expense. Merchants make their profit at the expense of the people, and consequently this non-productive class will be eliminated from the productive society which we are in the process of building".

The Green Book has established a criterion to describe productive work, which is the achievement of benefit through extended effort. Human effort is essential for the establishment of an economic entity, and therefore income derived from productive effort is considered legal, in accordance with the following equation :

Personal labour plus benefit, plus effort, equals legal profit.

The absence of any single element from this equation renders any profit resulting from the others, illegal, as would be the case in the event of the employment of others to achieve this profit.

The Green Book also describes usury as a form of exploitation, which achieves profit without the expenditure of any effort. Income from usury is a result of a non-productive activity, and is an exploitation of the need of the borrower. Usury is a result of excessive hoarding of wealth beyond individual requirements. It is the result of the sale of accumulated money, and is contradictory to the nature of the new socialist society for the following reasons :

1. Usury represents an unjust price for money.
2. By its nature, usury controls the requirements of needy persons and exploits them.
3. Usury paralyses the productive potential of the lenders, and is an invitation to laziness.
4. Usury leads to indifference and to living at the expense of the borrowers through obtaining a share of their income and of their requirements.
5. Usury is immoral and generates resentment and hatred.
6. Usury encourages hoarding, which is only achieved at the expense of others and through a abuse of the public wealth.
7. Usury is an unjustified enrichment, resulting from excessive hoarding beyond individual requirements. This is why *The Green Book* considers usury to be a form of exploitation, regardless of whether the interest is simple or compound, and regardless of whether the loan is made for the purposes of consumption or production, because lending is by its nature a non-productive activity.

CONCLUSIONS

Adding his just share from the public storehouse to his own, over and above his just needs, makes a person undoubtedly a thief.

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standing by the wayside, and the owner of a house could easily evict his tenants and leave them without shelter.

The Green Book considers that triumph of these needs is in fact a betrayal of human liberty and a means of exploitation whose sole aim is profit. Profit is therefore an indicator of exploitation which knows no limits. The more profit a person makes, the more he wants, and it is practically impossible to control this by any methods, even, the imposition of controlled prices. There is always a way around any of these measures, which is most obvious in the capitalist countries which adopt measures of intervention to limit exploitation and profits. In its study of this phenomenon, *The Green Book* said that recognition of profit is in fact a recognition of exploitation, because mere recognition does not limit it, and any measures taken to limit profit are merely shallow attemps to prevent the exploitation of one man by another.

Aspects of exploitation, and the approach adopted by *the Green Book* with regard to these aspects

The Green Book discusses several aspects of exploitation, and proposes various means to deal with them. It sums up the aspects of exploitation as being embodied in the means of production, wages, rentals, and commercial enterprises.

Means of production : land exploitation

Land is the foremost means of production, it is the basis of all life and the means whereby man continues to exist. It is therefore natural that it should be for everybody, to be enjoyed by all as they enjoy the sun for example. No one should be permitted to own land, but simply to benefit from it, such benefit being a natural right. Land is a natural resource, a common property, and no individual should be allowed to exploit an element of nature. Exploitation began when human laws permitted the ownership of land, for which several justifications have been made over the centuries. One of these was that made by the

physiocrats in France, who justified the ownership of land on the basis of effort and work by the owner. The recognition of the right of private ownership created an imbalance and led to the existence of different classes in the society.

However, work alone cannot justify the ownership of land.

CONCLUSIONS

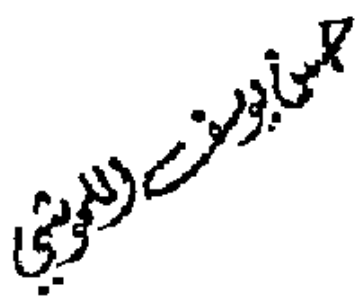
In this paper we have reviewed the various aspects of exploitation under the capitalist economic system and under the socialist economic system in the USSR, in the light of the principles upon which both systems are based. We have demonstrated the extent to which both systems have failed to overcome the various aspects of exploitation of the sources of production and the means of production, and we have also demonstrated that the economic ideology applied under both systems has been unable to radically eliminate exploitation. The fuzzy solutions proposed by the socialist Soviet system have merely transferred exploitation from the hands of the individual, to the State, and have then been unable to achieve the welfare of the individual. The struggle for the satisfaction of the individual's needs remains, and so do the basic economic problems, as exemplified by systems of ownership, wages, rents and trading. Exploitation of the workers for the sake of profit has remained unsolved, and the various forms of enslavement and oppression continue to prevail. The wage system has been unable to put an end to the struggle between the productive workers and the State (which is the employer) despite various measures which have been taken such as profit sharing. It is therefore impossible for the State or the party or political organisations to bring happiness and welfare to the individual, as they are all unable to achieve equality and justice. The proper and viable solutions can only be achieved by the producers themselves, in the context of equal relationships between them based on freedom and participation.

The methods adopted under both the traditional system and the socialist ideologies leave many questions unsolved, the major one being the achievement of human welfare and happiness. The Third

Universal Theory has proposed a new form of constructive and integrated socialism, from the political, economic and social points of view, proceeding from the depths of the true original human ideology.

The Green Book has analysed the various economic systems in detail, and has exposed the problems and weaknesses with which they are beset. It has shown how they have failed to remove the shadow of economic anxiety, and how exploitation remains throughout the world, causing suffering and need to its peoples, in spite of the development of human thought. It can be said that the economic ideology cannot be separated from the political one. The economic policies of any state must necessarily be influenced by its political ideologies and by its system of government. It was therefore natural that the new socialism proposed by *The Green Book* should be integrated and strongly connected with the political ideology which it presents ; this is a true democracy based on the construction of the era of the people's rule, the Jamahiriya, inasmuch as it is strongly related to the concepts of the economic ideology which is based on a struggle for the elimination of exploitation, and for the achievement of economic freedom through the satisfaction of needs.

The Green Book has thus gathered together a number of fundamental issues and principles in the framework of the Third Universal Theory, far removed from a partisan regionalism. *The Green Book* is not restricted to a particular country or state, but rather points the way towards the era of the masses, for the achievement of the liberation of man and his needs. It opens the way to the masses for a final liberation from the bonds of oppression, slavery, exploitation, and political and economic hegemony, with the objective of establishing a society of the people, for all the people, in which all are free and equal as regards authority, wealth and arms, for the final, ultimate and complete victory of freedom.



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Ownership
Comparative Study

Dr Mohamed Riyad Rashid

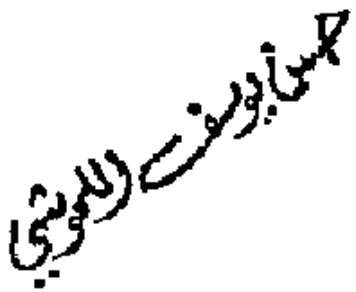


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INTRODUCTION

Thinkers, philosophers and clergymen all give great importance to the problem of ownership, due to its direct relationship to man and his relations with others. Ownership, therefore, has a great influence on the people's lives. It led in the past, and is still leading today, to their exploitation and to the plundering of their wealth and thereby to international crises.

Ownership is an important phenomenon with many economic, social and political implications. Not all thinkers agree on the best way to demarate it, to achieve maximum benefit for man and society.

This difference in opinion starts with Plato and Aristotle and goes on through time to reach its peak in the 20th. century where one camp calls for the private ownership of the means of production, and the other one for the state's ownership of these means.

Amid this struggle, and in the transitional phase through which the Third World is going, in general (and the Arab world in particular), we find this problem imposed on the Arab citizen everywhere so that he has to find a solution which is in line with his spiritual and cultural values.

Our study is divided into two parts. The first one is a view on the development of ownership in a different civilisation, and the second one deals with the proposals of Qathafi and how his thought relates to the other universal theories.

OWNERSHIP IN ANCIENT TIMES

The form of ownership in primitive societies is subject to different interpretations today. Thinkers differ on whether this ownership was private or public. They all agree, however, that it was the form most suited to the nature of man at this time.

Some thinkers say that public ownership was the first form of ownership known. According to them, it developed from a tribal collective form, to a family, and later to an individual ownership. This collective ownership included fishing equipment, pasture land, houses and tombs... the community being a real social unit, it should have the

right of owning wealth. — The individual is only a member of their community, and his existence is a result of his participation in it (1). Economic conditions and social ties prevailing in these primitive societies, such as the hard life in caves and forests, and the harshness of nature, imposed the necessity of collective ownership.

The rule in primitive agricultural societies was therefore the common possession of wealth, as man alone was not capable of facing nature, since he depended on primitive tools (2).

This group of people confirmed their view by looking into the life of some contemporary primitive tribes in South Africa (Bushmen), and in Australia (Arunta), where collective ownership prevails.

Yet another group of thinkers believe that ownership was individual when first established. According to them, ownership came into being at the same time as man, that is before the establishment of the community.

Collective ownership is one of the aspects of communal life. Private ownership, in its natural primitive form, existed at a prior stage when man depended on himself to eat and drink and defend himself, that is, to survive. The moment communities were established, collective ownership came into being.

OWNERSHIP IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Many writers believe that ancient Egypt did not practise private ownership of land for about 18 centuries before and after Christ. Ownership of the land was the right of the rulers only. From pharaoh's time through the Persian, Greek and Roman rules and also during the Turkish and the Memelouk rule in Muslem Egypt, rulers kept the bare ownership of land to themselves ; as for the right to make profits from the land, it was given for a period of a few years to those people chosen by the rulers for their capacity to farm the land.

The right of utilisation for profit was limited. At the beginning land could not be sold or inherited, granted or mortgaged. It was gradually developed until it was completely liberated from all restrictions and conditions, that is, it could be inherited, granted, sold and mortgaged, etc. (3).

Farmers in ancient Egypt were divided into communities which in turn were divided into groups responsible for farming the land in return of part of the crop.

We have referred to two historical texts (4) to confirm the fact that Egypt's land used to belong to the pharaoh.

This situation prevailed for a number of centuries and remained unchanged under the Roman rule (5).

OWNERSHIP IN ANCIENT GREECE

The same situation applies to ownership in ancient Greece. It developed into different forms. Land was a family property ; that is, it belonged to all members of the family whether dead or alive. It was not an individual property, but a sort of trust in the hands of a family where males could inherit the right of utilisation for profit ; land could not be separated from the family, which was sacred (6).

Family ownership was gradually abandoned and land could be sold and inherited. Some people say that land ownership in ancient Greece was a large collective one, where land was distributed among tribes and then later it became a family property until further developments occured and it became a private property (7).

The same applies for movable property (slaves and cattle) ; it was a tribal property, and later became a family property until finally it became private.

We can see from what is said above that ownership started as a collective one and was later transformed into private ownership. But this development was accompanied by much exploitation of property which led Greek legislators to intervene, such as Solon in Athens, to protect slaves' fixed interest rates and determine the extent of property transfers, especially from the poor to the rich (8).

Solon often referred to the greed of the rich which could not be controlled (9).

In Sparta it was Lycorgues who intervened to forbid the sale of land which led to the abolishing of private ownership. The land of Laconia was divided into a number of parts corresponding to the number of families there.

Lycorgues established an original form of common property in which private ownership was completely abolished, and a collective system established according to which all families were equal. The state (that is society) had the largest share of crop and of income. In return, the state undertook to subsidise all public affairs and war and was responsible for the education of male children and for their military training (10).

Lycorgues also introduced the collective tables. Each group had its own hall for meals and each group included 15 people.

As for Plato, he thought that the establishment of the state was based on an economic factor. He said that the state was established because the individual was unable to satisfy all his needs. He therefore formed a community with other people to satisfy their nedds (11). He called for a moral and social development in society. For man to be liberated, he had to adopt equality as a basis of his life. The organisation of the economic and social life should also be based on equality.

(In this life where ideas are higher then nature, man can achieve his freedom).

Freedom according to Plato was achieved when people were given the social position they deserved, according to their natural dispositions as well as their cultural and moral character (12). Since each person had his own specific skills which were different from others, he was therefore fit to undertake a specific work or a certain job.

Plato divided society into three parts ; each one carried out a specific activity. The producers, worked in all fields of production as they were created to carry out physical activities : the warriors and the philosophers exercised the authority and policies. To form a group was a natural instinct. First came the family, and then the state. This was due to man's need to satisfy his needs such as food, clothes and shelter (13).

Equality is achieved when people are given the jobs they deserve according to their natural dispositions and cultural and moral character.

Accordingly, judges and military men should spend most of their time exercising their jobs without performing any other activity such as trade, farming or handcraft, and lower classes should work to ensure a

good life for them. Thus, Plato deprived these two categories from being proprietors who indulge in a material life directed at making profits, as this was the only way of achieving friendship and solidarity between the people of those classes and to make them do their work efficiently.

Plato went to the extent of calling for the abolition of the family and family bonds in order to ensure the unity of the upper class. This was possible by making women and children a common possession.

It was therefore important to establish a system of common property for all as was the case for soldiers in the battlefield. Plato thought that private property and family bonds constituted the weak point in man. As he succombed to temptation and emotional feelings, he departed from exercising authority to achieve public interest and aimed at collecting personal wealth and favouring his relations (14).

The common life was only limited on rulers and soldiers. As for producers, they were entitled to own property and have families. Yet the state had the right to intervene to prevent excessive wealth as well as poverty.

In his book "The Laws" Plato recognized the ideal nature of his previous thought and the fact that society had not reached that level of perfection which would permit it to give up hope of having private property. He therefore thought that instead of abolishing private property, available wealth should be equally divided among families in the city, provided the distribution took place periodically and was controlled by the state (forbidding ownership of gold and silver, and giving high-interest loans) (15).

We can see from the above that ownership played an important role in Plato's thought and in his view of the organisation of the ideal society ; it could lead to deviation and to giving priority to personal rather than public interest. Thus, it becomes a means of exploitation and corruption. Plato approaches Lycorgues in this respect, only he does not call for the total abolition of private property but limits this to rulers and soldiers.

We can note that Plato's view of common possession differs much from modern socialism. Plato's theory is based on an ideal system characterised by its aristocratic aspect. He believes in the existence of classes and private property (limited to workers). As for socialism, it is

based on a scientific analysis of the economic and social situation and it abolishes private property, etc.

Aristotle thinks that the state was constituted as a result of historical development and to achieve objectives which are more important than satisfying personal needs. He rejects Plato's ideas on ownership as abolishing private property, which according to him deprives people from happinss. Thus, each person should be free to own private property because the incentive which pushes people to become rich and to satisfy their personal and family needs is a natural and acceptable incentive. It becomes offensive when profit becomes an objective in itself and not a means to satisfy the different needs. Happiness, according to Aristotle, can be achieved only if sufficient wealth is available.

Aristotle thinks that moral considerations should be introduced by strengthening the feeling of responsibility which the rich people should have towards the poor. It is therefore better to allow private property provided it is used in such a way as to profit the entire society, and thus by imposing moral considerations on the rich (16).

Thus, Aristotle puts a condition on private property, namely that it should aim at achieving man's happiness and serving the community in accordance with moral principles... It is therefore, a conditional property based on social, economic and moral considerations (this explains his rejection of interest bearing loans).

Yet while Aristotle rejects usury as an activity which leads to corruption, he accepts enslavement and does not see its contradiction with equality and morals ; on the contrary he thinks it is the most useful property (17).

Finally, Greek philosophers do not agree on the form of property. Most of them adopt collective property ; when some of them call for private property, it is usually a conditional one taking public interest, satisfaction of people's needs and achieving happiness in moderation, and not aiming at profit only.

OWNERSHIP IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Ownership in ancient Rome followed the same path as in ancient Greece. Collective ownership prevailed in Rome ; property belonged to the entire community and not to members of a tribe, a clan or a family.

Ownership was related to the religious beliefs prevailing in the Roman society at that time. It was therefore sacred (18). This situation went on until the famous laws of the Twelve Tables were issued to determine civil relations in society.

Some people say that ownership in Rome did not always have the same nature. It had many different aspects (like primitive societies) before it ended up being private. This is true at least for real estate.

Until the Republic, private property was limited to movable property and did not include real estate. Ownership started as collective property and developed to family and later to individual property (19). Romans had a great influence on capitalism as far as legal considerations are concerned. Their legal institutions later formed the framework of the economic system in capitalism.

The most important influence came from the legal institutions concerning the contract and individual property. Thus, Rome participated indirectly, through law, in formulating the economic thought.

The private property system and the principle of freedom to enter into a contract had later a great influence on capitalism (20).

The contract is the means of exchange and the legal basis in the market. It is established on freedom and on the agreement of the parties concerned. It also determines the mutual obligation of the parties.

The Roman law recognised absolute private property. It gave each person the right to possess and transfer any property ; each person was free to use what he owned, to exploit it, to destroy or modify it. He could also sell it or hire it.

Ownership was legal no matter how large it was, as long as it was acquired according to the law (21).

We can see from the above that Roman laws had a great influence on the economic thought of capitalism. Laws on contract and private property became integral parts of capitalism, even though Romans did

not consider ownership from an economic point of view, but organised it only from a legal standpoint.

THE CHURCH AND OWNERSHIP IN THE MIDDLE AGES (22)

The Roman Empire was destroyed by the Germanic tribes who did not have any experience in ruling an Empire. This led to the establishment of several Germanic kingdoms ; the central authority being weak, large feudal estates were implanted.

Under this feudal system, a closed economy was adopted, that is, each feudal estate was self sufficient and had no trade relations with others except in a very limited extent.

The economic activity was mainly agricultural. Theoretically, land belonged to the emperor ; yet the real landlords were the feudal lords. Land in the feudal estate was divided into two parts : One part belonged to the lord and was cultivated by the peasants. The other part was divided among auxiliaries in the estate who had the right to utilize the land while the final ownership remained the right of the feudal lord who also received part of the yield.

In addition to this, some handicraft was established. Craftsmen owned their simple tools and the community system was established (23).

This shows us that private property existed in the middle ages whether in the agricultural or the handicraft sectors. Private property was later consolidated during the period of open door trade during the last phase of feudalism.

Religious thought helped strengthen private property at that time, especially when the clergy monopolised education and connected their theories with religion and theology. One of the most famous thinkers in this vein is Saint Thomas of Aquin.

Among the principles which affected the economic issues is the consideration of all people as the children of the same father, they are therefore brothers. Christianity also advocates the existence of an eternal spirit. This spirit is the same for all people. Therefore, people

are equal in rights and obligations since they are all brothers and all are equal in the spirit.

Christianity calls for the consolidation of man's respect and honour and for the necessity to take public interest in consideration. The logical conclusion of all this should have been the rejection (by thinkers and clergy men) of slavery, and the division of society into social classes and, thereby, the abolition of feudalism, yet none of this happened.

On the contrary, they confirmed and accepted this system by referring to another principle in Christianity, namely, the consideration of life on earth as a transitional phase while life after death is the eternal one. Accordingly, what happens in the first life is only momentary and should not be measured according to the happiness for which man should strive for his life after death.

According to this concept, the division of society into classes by giving all the privileges to some and depriving the others is also momentary and has no importance since people should concentrate on their second life and should not concern themselves with life's insignificant matters since it is only a matter of a transitional phase.

This principle led to the acceptance of the division of society into classes ; the recognition of private property became therefore logical and legal, yet church fathers and the church's traditions in Jerusalem implied a preference for collective ownership. Sainte Clementine said in this respect : "The use of the things in his world should rest on a collective and public basis. Sin made each person say : this is my own property. This led to divisions among people." This is in line with the principles of fraternity and equality which Christianity calls for.

Property in monasteries is a collective one. Church fathers all use it to get what they need.

Ever since Saint Thomas of Aquin, the Church recognised private property and preferred it to collective property. Although it is not prescribed by natural law, yet it does not contradict this law either. It is a human organisation and man should determine the means of distribution and choose the appropriate form which leads to the establishment of a social system necessary for man's life.

The priority Saint Thomas of Aquin gives to private property over the collective property is due to the same arguments given by Aristotle in

this respect. He says that disputes among people will increase and collective ownership will disappear due to the failure by a system to distribute production among those who participated in it in a satisfactory way. He adds that the human instinct leads man to care more for wealth if it belongs to him.

He also thinks that the distribution of wealth among people on the basis of private property constitutes the best means of the division of work in society. These arguments are close to those advocated by capitalism. But Saint Thomas of Aquin thinks that private property should not be as absolute as it was under the Roman empire ; Proprietors should use their property in a way which corresponds with the community's interest ; man, therefore, should be "moderate" in his acquisition of wealth. Any extravagance would make the acquisition of wealth an objective in itself and not a means of achieving respect to man. In this case, man would give greater importance to wealth rather than to other principles such as religion. Man, therefore, should only acquire what he needs to live a proper life among the people of his class.

We can conclude from the above that private property and its different uses are subject to moral, religious and idealistic principles, which allow private property, provided public interest and ideals are taken into account.

OWNERSHIP IN CAPITALISM

The inclination of the church fathers towards private property found its echo among many thinkers who believed that natural law is the basis of private property. This is what we actually see in the physiocratic system founded by Quesnay.

This spontaneous system prevailing in society, would make the latter subject to a series of natural laws provided individual relations resulting from the nature of things are respected.

This system agrees with the divine will which can be easily recognised. It is also based on 2 important elements :

1) Physiocrats believe that the right to ownership is a basic right necessary to produce wealth. Quesnay says that ensuring the right to

ownership constitutes the foundation of the economic system in society without which land becomes fruitless.

2) This right to ownership requires freedom which is the core of the natural system, the latter actually advocates freedom to people in their action (26). Freedom and ownership are concurrent, as man cannot live in complete freedom without these two rights. Furthermore, personal interest is the incentive which urges people to undertake an economic activity and the force which directs them while undertaking it under the prevailing legitimate competition.

The French revolution confirms private property as a natural right, and includes it among the natural rights of man which cannot be abolished. The Declaration of Human Rights underlined this in its article 17 :

"Since ownership is a sacred right which cannot be abolished, noone can be deprived from it unless the legally acknowledged public need imposes it, and provided prior equal compensation is given".

The 1971 constitution stipulates that the right to ownership is a sacred right which cannot be affected (article 87) (27). Napoleon's civil code of 1801 does not mention the sacred nature of this right ; but it makes it "absolute" provided it is not used in a way forbidden by laws and regulations (28).

The German civil code, however, did not mention the absolute nature of ownership which cannot be affected.

We can therefore see that the right of ownership in its present aspect in capitalism, strikes its roots in the thought of physiocrats and in the French revolution.

The idea of the natural law was first developed in the thought of Adam Smith. He says that the natural system is realised without special effort, it is automatically established, led by a major incentive which manages people's activities, namely personal interest. This is the natural incentive which every man uses to improve his situation. Economic institutions are also established as a result of this incentive.

Thus, the individual is the very crux. He should therefore enjoy complete freedom to carry out economic activity, with the aim of achieving personal interest, which is the major motivating force behind any of his activities. The individual should therefore have the right of ownership of all means of production. He can also dispose of what he

owns in any way he likes since he enjoys the three aspects of ownership : "utilisation, independence and disposition" (26). This however does not exclude the fact that property is subject to some restrictions.

The individual motivated by personal benefit, aims at achieving the maximum profit possible. This is the result of a natural human instinct which urges man to improve his situation. This is what Adam Smith calls "the invisible hand" which drives man.

Under the freedom of property and the freedom of concluding contracts and under complete competition, work becomes, according to Smith, the real source of wealth. Work is therefore the basis of ownership and should naturally imply man's possession of the fruits of his work.

Smith adds that man's endeavour to achieve his personal interest, and the spontaneous interelation between all human activities lead to the achievement of public interest and to the establishment of the natural system in which public interest is achieved (30).

According to the above, classics believe that work is a commodity like other commodities. The price of work is the wage which is determined according the hours of work necessary to produce this commodity. The price of work's commodity depends on the amount of food necessary to preserve the worker's life (31).

Law in capitalism protects private property and helps its development and continuation by creating the objective conditions for this.

Thus, each individual aims at achieving his personal interest and thereby public interest is also realised. But some thinkers believe that private property is not the result of a human natural instinct but of society. It would not have existed without "the civil laws". Bossuet says in this respect : "Abolish the government and the land will become, together with its wealth, a collective property, like air and light. A right emanates generally from a public authority. Montesquieu (1689-1755) says : "People have given up their natural independence under political laws. They have given up the natural collective possession of property ; they should now coexist under civil laws". The first laws give them freedom and the second give them property (32). J. Benthan has the same inclination. He says that property is the work of law and nothing else. There is nothing called absolute natural property.

Furthermore, capitalism with its private property has failed to achieve man's happiness and public interest. This is due to the fact that economic freedom led to the establishment of huge monopolies which put an end to competition, and exploit the consumers since they dominate the market. They develop vertically and horizontally, taking different forms, and surpassing regional limits to exercise their activities in plundering the Third World's wealth. This has led to unhappiness, misery and lack of freedom in these parts of the world.

These monopolies also lead to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small category in society as they destroy new producers.

This again leads to the unequal distribution of income and to inequality and oppression, since only a few dominate the largest part of society's wealth. The majority of the people own only a little, and suffer therefore from deprivation under such a system. Rousseau said in 1712-1778, "inequality and oppression were established with private property. This is why no citizen should be so rich as to be able to buy another citizen. Nor should a citizen be so poor as to be forced to sell himself. The state should do everythig to prevent inequality as things always tend to abolish equality" (33). Workers in capitalism always feel threatened while a minority suffers from excess of competition In addition to this, the crises wich hit the free system lead to the loss of work for millions of workers.

The examples of the unequal distribution of income are numerous and they lead to sharp social contradictions and violent class struggles between employers and workers. Each social category organises the means of defending its interests ; this struggle finds its origins in the working conditions which are imposed on workers.

In order to increase the profits and avoid economic crises, employers try by all means possible to decrease production costs. The fear of hunger and unemployment is sufficient to make workers accept "of their own free will" the conditions imposed on them by employers.

These working hours exceed human capacity and wages decrease to the limit at which they sustain workers' lives (34).

Socialism was established as a solution the problem of capitalism.

OWNERSHIP IN SOCIALISM

The socialist current came into being as a reaction to the capitalist thought, calling for the abolition of private property of means of production and reviewing the distribution of income on new bases.

This current was first divided among the ideal socialists on one side and the scientific socialists on the other.

Ideal socialism is based on an idealistic picture of society and differs from one thinker to the other. Saint Simon praises the industrial society and calls for a social reorganisation based on the abolition of classes. The only difference allowed between people is between those who work and those who do not. Since landlords do not lay any capital in society, they should not receive any income. Those who provide society with capital, deserve to receive an income corresponding to the amount of funds they furnish. Professor G.R. Coal believes that Saint Simon should not be considered a socialist with all that this word implies, since he never thought of socialism as a movement which implies a class struggle between employers and workers. On the contrary, he thinks that both these classes have common interests facing the other classes who do not work, namely nobles and soldiers (35).

Saint Simon's followers, Enfantin and Bazard consider capital as one of the aspects of private property ; the latter is the right to receive an income without working. Since property is in the hands of a few, workers find themselves forced to give part of their production to the owners. This is the exploitation by man which is an inevitable result of private ownership of property.

The right of ownership according to Saint Simon is an unstable, ever changing institution. It is a social development which like any other is subject to progress. It can therefore be defined and determined in different ways at different times (36).

Thus, the next step society should take would be to establish equality among all workers as far as their use of means of production is concerned. This would lead to the transfer of the accumulated wealth to the State as the sole inheritor of all people instead of its transfer among the members of the family.

This is how the right of inheritance is abolished and wealth tranferred to the State, because inheritance leads to the distribution of wealth on the basis of family ties (37).

Co-operative socialism calls for the free co-operation between people which can bring about the solution to all social problems, provided that this co-operation is organised according to specific conditions.

Co-operative socialists disapprove of the individualistic tendency, due to its shortcomings resulting from the competion among producers to make profit, and competition among workers to receive the maximum wage possible. This is why they call for the free co-operation between people as a means to put an end to the harmful competition and safeguard freedom.

Robert Owen is one of the leaders of this movement, who exercised some reforms in this respect, and encouraged others to follow him but was not successful. He wanted to establish a new social environment where inequality would disappear. He established his colony on this basis (New Harmony) where income was distributed equally according to needs. When he established it in 1821 he published a declaration in which he stated the 3 systems which oppress man : private property, unreasonable religions and marriage (38).

Owen's project failed and he returned to Europe looking for another scheme. We can say that Owen went a longer way than Charles Fourier, whose solution of the social problem implies the establishment of vast production associations of "Phalanster" which are similar in their constitution to a large hotel, whose work is divided among its members. Fourier did not call for absolute economic equality, and did not oppose the idea of receiving income without working, that is, income which corresponds to the ownership of capital (39). His association is therefore not based on collective possession but on a new form of private property based on the ownership of stock.

Louis Blanc calls for the establishment of production co-operatives and for their expansion. He thinks, as do other thinkers calling for production cooperatives, that competion is the source of workers' misery. A system had to be established that would be based on the opposite of competition, that is, co-operation. He calls for establishing

social workshops which in production co-operatives which include workers working in the same field ; workers in these workshops receive equal wages ; the same applies to profit which is divided into 3 parts, one of which is equally distributed among workers.

Blanc believes that the new social workshops will constitute the heart of a new society based on cooperation rather than competition. He therefore aims at expanding the base of ownership and at transforming workers into partners who all receive the same wages and the same share in profits instead of employers getting all the profit.

Blanc requires the interference of the State in order to achieve his project. This is what makes him differ from Owen and Fourier, where the transformation happens of its own accord.

All this seems illogical, as how can a state which represents the capitalists be asked to find a new system whereby capitalism is abolished ? !

Proudhon is another thinker who attaches a great importance to the problem of property (1809-1865).

He opposes property vehemently and describes it as robberry, since the person who owns the means of production actually steals others' production, by imposing on them the payment of funds in return for their use of those means of production. These funds which he receives constitute nothing but robbery since they do not correspond to any work he undertakes.

Proudhon also says that robbery is implied in the relationship between workers and employers, since the first pay for the value of their individual work, while the second keep the output of the collective labour force (40).

Thus, Proudhon opposes private property whether it is based on a natural right, on man-made law or even on work. Yet, he does not call for its abolition and for its transformation to collective property. He rather calls for putting it at the disposal of all people. According to him private property should be a simple ownership that is an organised and legal ownership that is the right to use and exploit something without injustice. This aims at making it impossible to receive any income without working.

This means that those who own the means of production can use them without exploiting others. The farmer cultivates the land and

thereby makes a profit without exploiting other workers, and so on... Proudhon does not call for the abolition of income disparity due to work. He says : what should be abolished is injustice and not disparity (41).

On this basis Proudhon refuses collective property which is opposed to the principle of justice. It is according to him, the religion of misery.

He believes that private property provides the incentive to achieve freedom. Proudhon proposes the establishment of a mutual benefit society in order to achieve his "anarchy", that is the society without authority. He thinks that authority is the basis of primitive societies and that progress leads to its abolition (42).

Karl Marx analyses capitalism and describes his scientific socialism as a universal movement which adopts a new basis for the liberation of the working class. It seems that Marx is affected by Thomas More, Campanella and Babeuf. The latter's "equals' manifesto" is similar to the "communist manifesto" of Marx and Engels and both call for the abolition of private property.

Marx concludes through the historical materialism that capitalism has to disappear according to the general law of historical development, as the very logic of this system implies the existence of contradicting forces which will lead to its abolition (43).

Marx and Lenin believe that capitalism produces during its development, the materialistic elements which will make humanity change through revolution, to the communist economy and social system where socialism is the first stage. According to them capitalism also creates that revolutionary social force, the proletariat which will bury the old social system (44).

Marx says that the history of humanity up till now has been a history of class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Private property is the cause of the said struggle. The revolution which Marx calls for, will transfer the ownership of the means of production to the community and the proletariat will use its political superiority to take over the capital from the bourgeoisie, and concentrate the means of production in the hands of the State ; that is the proletariat organised in a ruling class (45). The concentration of the means of production, and the generalisation of labour will reach an extent to which they would not correspond anymore to their capitalist framework. This is where it ends and property is abolished (46).

Thus the contradiction of capitalism comes to an end and a society will be established where means of production are used collectively only and are everybody's property.

The capital belongs to all members of the society and this is how labour and means of production are combined.

Marx in his "Kapital" says that the bourgeois society rejects the private property which is based on personal work ; communism is the rejection of the bourgeois society ; and a rejection of a rejection is a confirmation (47). The aim is therefore to abolish the bourgeois property and thereby the exploitation of man by man (48).

Thus public ownership of the means of production is confirmed. The individual work becomes the only way of ensuring a proper life. The individual's position in society is determined by his personal efficiency, and not by wealth or birth. As for the output of the collective work, it is the property of workers and is distributed according to their interest ; the surplus output is used to expand production and ensure cultural services...

With the abolition of the private ownership of means of production, the state is inevitably abolished too (49).

Soviet writers say that this is the transitional plan, the socialist phase. They believe that the level of development in the different branches of the national economy is different ; therefore, the materialistic introductions which lead to socialism do not all appear at the same time (50).

The social ownership of the means of production takes two forms : popular public (government) property and a cooperative "kolkhoze" property.

In socialist countries, most of the means of production belongs to the state (90 % in the Soviet Union). Thus government property is either a leading socialist ownership, or a "kolkhoze" which represents the major co-operative form, that is an agricultural production, consumption and professional co-operative unions. Individuals who own means of production can receive, in addition to the income received in return to their personal work, an additional income corresponding to the land or means of production they provide. Kolkhozes cover more than half of the country's cultivated land and this commodity output represents 58 % of the total agricultural output (51 %). Furthermore, the

additional investments for production are the property of the kolkhoze inhabitants and include cattle, birds, trees, vegetables.

We can see that the above mentioned socialism is based on work. It ensures for the individual his private ownership of consumption goods. After the expansion of public ownership of means of production, the economy began to be organised in a tight, centralised way and the Communist party imposed its dictatorship, replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact that the people lost control and ownership of the means of production made it easy for bureaucratic distortions to occur ; the working class lost its right to defend itself which Lenin called for, when he said that workers should use their organisations to defend themselves against their state (52).

Thus the aim is to fight bureaucratic distortions by the state, as most ideas aim at imposing bureaucracy on the national economic plan. This is a tremendous threat.

Such distortion prevailed under Stalin as his foremost aim was the rapid growth of production at the expense of everything else.

This is why measures have been taken against farmers, workers and intellectuals ever since 1929. This was quite obvious in the way the land was transformed into public property when about one million farming exploitations were brought together to form kolkhozes within 3 months only, which correspond to exploitation established in 12 years. Exceptionally oppressive measures were taken against farmers of little and average means.

Thus the principle of the free agreement to establish kolkhozes was violated, which led to a wave of anger among small and medium farmers who assumed they were going to be helped by the revolution. Farmers were so scared of loosing their cattle when they became part of the kolkhoze that many of them killed them. This is how the operation of public property almost turned into a great catastrophe.

In 1929 the Soviet Union owned 34 million head of horses of which only 16 million remained in 1933. This means that more than half of the horses were killed ; the same thing happened to 45 % of the cows and to one third of the pigs and more than a quarter of the sheep (53).

Farmers' anger was a source of worry which needed some alleviation measures. But this was very slow and happened without the

people's participation or control. It was only in 1953 that grain and cattle production reached the level which was prevailing in 1928 (54). This was the result of some independence given to the organisation of the collective units, and also to participation in profits being allowed. In industry central bureaucracy also had dangerous consequences. The role played by those who participated directly in production and who also participated in decision making became very small facing the increasing bureaucracy. These workers did not represent more than 11 % of the delegates in the 19th conference of the Soviet Communist party in 1952. The other delegates were stable elements of the party, the State and the army. They represented only one third of the delegates in the 20th. Conference in 1956 (55). The lack of participation of workers in taking economic decisions had a negative effect on output and necessitated oppressive measures against workers to fight negligence and laxity.

This is how the party replaced the working class and the system replaced the party and the leaders replaced the system.

Yet the great achievements of the October revolution should not be overlooked. They transformed the Soviet Union from an underdeveloped agricultural country into a developed country in spite of the huge human cost this involved.

The problem of the man who was deprived from his property and who was excluded to a certain extent from contolling production is not yet solved in the system. His situation as a wage-earner is still prevailing and he is still kept away from any decision making process.

OWNERSHIP IN ISLAM

The true owner in the Islam is God as he created the universe, he created the earth and everything on it. This is stipulated in the Koran : "He it is Who created the heavens and the earth" (56) ; "Allah's is the Sovereignty of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them" (57) ; "Who hath no partner in the Sovereignty" (58).

These verses and many others show that God alone is the owner of the universe without partner or son. He is the one who created the

riches for the use of man. "and spend of that whereof he hath made you trustees" (61).

Thus wealth is for all people and not for a specific category, class or individual.

God entrusted the community on earth to use its richness and wealth. The society is required to develop the land and benefit from its richness. This is an ownership which is subsequent to God's.

This fact must be taken into consideration when any action is undertaker ; anything else is tyranny which bears the fruits of aggression, as land is created for all people ; each person should be able to live in it and find what he needs. God created it for man to use it to be able to worship Him and not to make wealth an objective in itself.

For man to take possession of property is based on the fact that he represents the community in managing this property. This is where the social function of ownership is confirmed. The individual who represents society in the development of land should therefore act within the limits of the divine constitution. In case of deviation, the individual should be dismissed, just like a company's director, and the property returns to God and to the community God said : "Give not unto the foolish (what is in) your (keeping of their) wealth, which Allah hath given you to maintain" (63). Here God did not say give them "their" wealth but said "your" wealth to indicate that the foolish behaviour of the proprietor made him lose the authority over wealth and returned it to the society (62).

Ownership here is an occupation ; it is a public interest ownership and not a possession. It is, therefore, a momentary right and not an intrinsic right since wealth belongs to God. Some Moslem thinkers say ; "Ownership applies only to the benefit ; as for the property itself (capital assets), it belongs to God and not to man. The fact is that man's authority is not on the material things but only on their use" (64).

Thus ownership in Islam is not absolute ; it is only an exploitation in lieu of the community, because the latter is entrusted by God to possess the wealth.

When man feels he is the owner rather than a representative, he begins to be corrupted and deviates towards tyranny. "Nay, but verily man is rebellious, that he thinketh himself independent" (66). Tyranny is due to man's feeling he is so rich that he needs nobody.

The principle source of ownership in Islam is a right which is derived from work. Islam puts conditions on ownership to make it a right to utilise according to the organisation of the legislator. The individual works with the wealth which belongs to the community ; he has therefore to realise that the talents he enjoys, emanate from God. To be talented in economy should mean to develop and construct and not to feel superior. These talents are a divine commandment to work. "Allah asketh naught of any soul save that which He hath given it" (67). And "Allah tasketh not a soul beyond its scope" (68).

Work is therefore undertaken according to the freedom of choice and according to free will. Each person should compare between the different economic activities in order to choose what he is gifted for. The relationship between the individual and production is determined by the functions he undertakes ; ownership is the result of production. The relationship between the individual and ownership is one of a collector only, as he is not an owner as all wealth belongs to God. Furthermore, this individual is neither deprived nor forbidden to have access to ownership but he undertakes a function which is ownership of the warehouse of society's wealth which he undertakes with the help of his talents (69).

God put the limits of disposing of wealth : "Believe in Allah and his messerger, and spend of that whereof he hath made you trustees" (70). Trust, here, means delegation.

God orders people to spend in His way all the wealth He delegated to them. This spending is imposed on people to serve the community's interests. Spending is therefore a social, legal function. "They also hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah, unto them give tidings of a painful doom" (71).

Moslem philosophers did not all agree on the amount of spending. Some of them, incluning Ali Ibn Abou Taleb and Abou Thor El Ghafari, think that spending implies the amount which exceeds what is necessary for feeding the person himself and his family.

Others believe that the amount to be spent is actually the "zakat" (alms) which is imposed on each individual. Others say that further duties are imposed after payment of alms, such as feeding the hungry and freeing the prisoner.

According to the writings of Ali Ibn Abou Taleb and Abou Thor El Ghafari, the community's right in the individuals' wealth is evaluated according to its needs and interests (72).

Ali said "God charged the rich to spend from their wealth as much as it is necessary to feed their poor. If the latter are hungry or have no clothes god will judge the rich for this and will punish them on Judgment Day" (73).

A Moslem is required to fight to take from the rich if he is hungry and if the rich deprives him. The rich in this case is a tyrant. "And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it return unto the ordinance of Allah" (74).

A person is considered a thief in Islam only when his needs are satisfied and he makes a surplus profit which he does not spend on the community ; when starvation prevailed (75), for instance (Omar Ibn El Klatal).

According to the above, we can see that ownership in Islam is an occupation ; it is restricted to public interest more than individual interest. The community's rights are predominant and can reach to the extent of stripping the individual of his rights.

Omar Ibn El Klatal said that during the above-mentioned starvation, he could have taken all the surplus of the rich and distributed it among the poor (76).

This is the clear indication that ownership is subject to the public and not to the individual interest.

Chapter II
OWNERSHIP ACCORDING TO *THE GREEN BOOK*

It is well known and established that a thinker is not usually influenced by his human environment nor by his spiritual life or any other thoughts surrounding him. Colonel Qathafi is not an exception among thinkers as human life is but a series of related links, which are positively and negatively continuous.

Thus he thought of *The Green Book* only for the sake of human thought, as Qathafi himself said.

THE PARTNERS' OWNERSHIP

Ownership usually reflects the relationship between workers and employers. This relationship has taken on a characteristic aspect in the different production systems ever since the dawn of history.

In many ancient civilisations, this relationship expresses a production system which allows enslavement ; it is therefore a relationship between owners and slaves.

Plato, Aristotle and Roman thinkers allow enslavement in spite of their idealism. Aristotle believes that slaves are the utmost property and the most essential. The slave is a living machine.

The living machine has to work so that the non-living machine can move. Enslavement according to Aristotle is necessary to save the free people from having to carry out material work.

Aristotle clearly describes the nature of production relationship under the exploiting private property system. It is a relationship between the master and the slave, the relationship between he who owns and he who does not own. The machine requires someone to make it run and the production wheel requires someone to drive it ahead. Those in charge of this are the slaves (the workers).

Aristotle justifies this with the difference between capacities and talents. The ownership of the means of production by a limited category of people who do not exploit their property by themselves, leads inevitably to a separation between work and ownership, and therefore to the use of other's labour.

Thus society is divided into two classes : workers and capitalists ; and therefore class struggle takes place.

The nature of the relations which Aristotle describes, took different forms which were sometimes clear, as the relationship between slaves and feudal lords in the Middle Ages, and sometimes disguised forms like the establishment of the contract and the freedom of contracting in capitalism.

In spite of the developments which occurred and the gains achieved by workers after their long struggle (social security, minimum wages, participation in profits and management, etc.), yet as Qathafi says, the problem is not yet solved. "This attempt confined to wages was certainly not a solution at all. It is an artificial attempt, aimed merely at reform, rather a charity than a recognition of the right of workers", because wage-earners are a type of slave, however improved their wages may be. The wage-earner is like a slave to the master who hires him. He is even a temporary slave, since his salary lasts as long as he works for wages from the employer" (77).

What is meant by slavery here, is not its legal definition that is the proprietor's absolute right to buy and sell as was the case in ancient Greece and in the Roman empire. But it means that the worker as a party in the contract has lost his freedom and will from a practical point of view.

The wage system bears the characteristics of slavery. The worker is forced to sell his only product, which is his work potential, to the capitalist. He is compelled to yield to his master's will and always receives the minimum wage possible. Like the slave he receives what is necessary to keep him alive (78).

Qathafi refutes all the justifications put forward by Aristotle and later by the capitalists. The industrious intelligent person has no right to seize other people's share ; but he can profit from his advantages to satisfy his needs, and economise those needs (79).

This is in line with what we said above about Islam, where the different talents should be used as a means of achievement and construction and not as one of superiority.

After the establishment of socialism and its consolidation after the October revolution, a great transformation occurred in the production relationship. Ownership became the state's ownership, that is, one of

the partners of the production force bacame the government which managed the nationalised establishment, and on the other side, were the workers. Qathafi says that the partners in capitalism are the wage-earners and the employers. In Communist societies we still find the workers and the employers and whether the latter is a small or a large group, is only a matter of form, and the heart of the problem remains unsolved.

The wage-earners in the capitalist society are the same as in the Marxist society. They are exactly the same. The only change is on the side of the employer. The capitalist, exploiting employers were overthrown and a new employer replaced them : the Marxist State. In other works the capitalist class which used to hire workers was replaced by the capitalist State.

The transfer of ownership from the capitalists to the Marxist state does not solve the problem. Workers still do not own the means of production and are still hired by others, in spite of the improvement of their social situation which is due to their participation in political organisations and trade unions. The nature of production relations in the establishment has not changed since workers are not yet owners.

Proudhon opposes this type of ownership. According to him, communism represents the utmost forms of exploitation and injustice as it calls for the complete abolition of the private ownership. Workers in communism do not consume their own production and here the industrious and the negligent are equal ; personal incentives and innovation are abolished (80).

Thus Qathafi says : "Thus the change in ownership from one type to another has not solved the problem of the worker's right in that the producers are still wage-earners despite the change in ownership. The ultimate solution is to abolish the wage-system, emancipate man from his bondage and return to the material law" (81).

The social organisation of industry today in both systems, still carries the same contradiction which separates work from ownership and which still forces to offer their force in return to wages. "The previous historical theories tackled the economic problem either from the angle of the ownership of one the factor of production only, or form the angle of wages for production only. They have not solved the real problem,

namely the problem of production itself. The worker is deprived of any right in his production" (82).

The accumulation of the profit still exists in both systems. This profit ends up in the pockets of individuals in capitalism and of the State in Marxism.

In the new socialist society, man either works to satisfy his needs or works in an industrial establishment in which he is a partner. Work here is productive, it aims at satisfying material needs. The worker here is not a wage-earner but a partner who owns his own production.

As Qathafi says : "Thus the new socialist society is no more than a dialectical consequence of the unjust relations prevailing in the world. It has produced the material solution, namely private ownership to satisfy the needs without using others, and socialist ownership, in which the producers are partners in production The socialist ownership replaced a private ownership based on the production of wage-earners who had no right to what they produced" (83).

All the above inevitably leads to the abolition of profit which constitutes one of the bases of capitalism. This abolition will occur as a result of development towards the new socialist system. According to the latter there will be no separation between work and production. Producers will own their establishment. No more authority based on ownership.

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Land ownership is one of the principal aspects of ownership since ancient times (if not the oldest ownership ever known). Man's life has always been closely related to land. He used it for pasture, for hunting and agriculture. Land was and still is subject to struggle between people. Its ownership took many forms throughout history. It was subject to collective ownership in primitive societies where the individual was one of the elements of the community and was able to live as a result of his participation in this community. Ownership was developed later when private ownership was allowed in Ancient Greece, and reached its peak in Ancient Rome, under the feudal

system and with the approval of the church, private ownership of land led to many injustices and exploitation.

This in turn led to many revolutions, such as the slaves' revolt under the leadership of Spartacus and Gratchus. Many thinkers tried to solve the problem of ownership, such as Jonh Luke. He said that God created the land to be collectively owned by people. For a person to use its production, he has to own part of it (84).

The principal element is work. Luke thinks that land should be owned by the one who cultivates it. This right of property is abolished when land is left uncultivated.

The loss of ownership of wasteland as Luke sees it, was known by Islam before him.

The American writer Henry George believes that evil is the result of the private ownership of land. He calls for its nationalisation.

The Green Book says : "Land is no one's property, but everyone has the right to use it, to benefit from it by working, farming or pasturing. This would take place throughout a man's life and the lives of his heirs, and through his own effort without using others, with or without wages, and only to the extent of satisfying his own needs" (85).

Qathafi solves the problem of land when he decided it was no one's property, as man did not create Nature. It was created by God to be used for everyone. This is in line with what God says : "The earth is Allah's. He giveth it for an inheritance to whom He will and lo the sequel is for those who keep their duty (into Him) (86)" and "Unto him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth and whatsoever is between them, and whatsoever is beneath the soil (87)".

Evidence of this occurs in many situations in Islam, when people only had to use land and not own it. This happened after the Prophet's conquest of Khejber and under Omar Ibnel Khatab after the conquest of Syria and Iraq, where land was kept by its owners provided they gave part of its yield to the exchequer.

The Green Book differentiates between the absolute ownership of land which is no one's right, and between enjoying the right to use the land and to usufruct it.

The Green Book also recognises the inheritance of land ; heirs have the right to utilise land within the prescribed limits and without

exploiting others in order to be in line with the principle of a partners' ownership.

WORK AS THE BASIC OF PARTNERSHIP AND OWNERSHIP

Many thinkers believe that work is the principle source of profit and values. Ibn Khaldoun says : "Profit is a result of attempts to acquire and collect, that is wealth requires work and endeavour. Human work is necessary to achieve any type of wealth" (88).

According to Ibn Khaldoun, work is the basis in any attempt to gain wealth. It is also the source of value, which means that the value of anything is equivalent to the work spent on it.

Different authors who tackled the problem like Adam Smith, Ricardo and Marx, all adopted the same idea ; that anything's value is determined according to the amount of work spent on it (89).

If a product's value is determined by the amount of work spent on it, it is only natural that the worker should receive his own total production. But this is only possible if all means of production are at the disposal of the producers themselves (which is not the case in capitalism as means of production are concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists).

If a person is to enjoy his own production, the industrial establishment's ownership should be transferred, together with its means of production, to partners. This is how the exploitation of man by man is abolished, and the wage system disappears.

Qathafi says : "Thus the income of any man in the socialist society should not be in a wage form from anyone. For there are no wage-earners in the socialist society, only partners. Your income is a form of private ownership, you manage it by yourself, either to meet your needs or to share in the production, if you are one of its main factor (90)".

"Work for a wage is, in addition to being an enslavement of man as mentioned before, work without incentives because the producer is a wage-worker rather than a partner.

The incentive system is mentioned in *The Green Book* and ownership is an effective instrument to increase production quantitati-

vely and qualitatively and keep away from negligence and laxity since the result of this will affect workers in a positive or a negative way.

The Green Book mentions : "Whoever works for himself is certainly devoted to his productive work because his incentive to production lies in his dependence on his private work, to satisfy his material needs. Also whoever works in a socialist corporation is a partner in its production. He is undoubtely devoted to his productive work. But whoever works for a wage has no incentive to work.

Work for wages failed to solve the problem of increasing and developing production (91)".

The lack of incentive leads workers to adopt a negative behaviour towards production and what is going on in economic establishments is in turn reflected on the overall national production.

This is especially obvious in agriculture where the productivity of landlords differs largely from that of agricultural workers.

Islam, as we have seen, considers ownership as a right based on work. Islam encourages and glorifies work. "Act ! God will behold your actions and (so will) His messenger and the believers (92)", and "And that man hath only that for which he maketh effort (93)". Islam recognises man's instinct towards the love of ownership and provides him with the incentives which will profit him and his society.

Islam allows land ownership provided it is cultivated. The prophet said that whoever cultivates virgin land, can own it, but he looses his right to ownership after 3 years if he fails to cultivate it (94).

Ownership is therefore subject to work. The prophet considers work as a type of worship as God forgives the worker for his sins. He also considers that manual work is the best means of making wealth.

Qathafi, influenced by Islam, gives work a great importance. But calling for the establishment of the partner's society, he makes in work the only legitimate way of becoming a proprietor. By nature, ownership cannot lead to extravagant wealth and to the division of society into classes.

OWNERSHIP AND FREEDOM

The relationship between ownership and freedom is actually a relationship beetween freedom and the satisfaction of needs. Ownership either leads to man's independence or enslavement.

Since the objective in the socialist society is to achieve man's happiness, the latter can only be achieved, as General Abdel Nasser says, under political and social freedom.

Political freedom (democracy) is the confirmation of people's authority. Social freedom is the establishment of socialism. Neither can be separated as they are the basis of genuine freedom. Without one of them or without any of them, freedom cannot prevail (95).

Gamal Abdel Nassel links man's freedom with his economic freedom, in other words, he points out the dialectical relationship between them.

Qathafi says : "Man's freedom is lacking if somebody else controls what he needs. For need may result in man's enslavement by man. Need causes exploitation. Need is an intrinsic problem and conflict grows out of the domination of man's needs (96)".

This exploitation is due to the fact that the means of production are owned by a small category while the largest part of the community is forced to ofter its work at the low price for fear of hunger and under the pressure of need.

The contract which is concluded between employers and workers lacks equality between the parties. The stronger party, i.e. the owners of the means of production impose their conditions on the weaker party, the workers. As for the "balance of power" between employers' union and workers' trade unions, of which Galbraith speaks, it is an exceptional situation which may occur in case of an economic boom and does not reflect the actual relationship between both powers. Furthermore, it cannot constitute a solution to the problem of man's freedom in the framework of its relationship with the ownership of the means of production.

As for Fichte, his view of the problem is more progressive, as he considers that the state's role is the protection of man's freedom and society's freedom. Genuine freedom cannot be achieved without

ownership, but Fichte charges the State with the task of safeguarding freedom by ensuring that each man has his share of ownership.

Fichte's solution is delegated to the State, it therefore depends on the State's capacity. The question raised is, what is the nature of this State and whose interests does it serve ? !

A co-ordination between the political and economic powers is therefore necessary in society. If a parliamentary democracy prevails, the problem would be solved by voting. Yet man's freedom through voting is not complete as it lacks economic freedom.

Man is therefore subject to exploitation when he does not own the means of production. Ownership is the condition of freedom. As Proudhon says, ownership as it is today, leads to tyranny. The nation is like a limited company which is dominated by the large share-holders. The strong turn the weak into slaves.

This is why Qathafi says that the aim in the new socialist society is to establish a happy society because it is free. This can be achieved when material and moral needs are satisfied by liberating the needs from any outside domination.

He who owns the house where you live or the vehicle which you ride or the income which you receive, actually owns your freedom or part of it. But freedom is indivisible, for man to be happy he has to be free and for him to be free, he has to control his own needs.

Man's ownership of his own needs liberates him from any interference, and this is sacred, otherwise man will be in fear and unhappiness. The solution proposed by many socialist thinkers is not a radical solution of the problem.

They either charge the state with this task or call for a solution to the problem through legal means. But all that concerns man should not be treated with legal and administrative means because law is the expression of society's will and can be changed according to the different conditions prevailing in society. Man's ownership of his needs is therefore subject to change and modification. This is in contradiction with the establishment of society according to natural law.

Omar Ibn el Khatab said about 1400 before Qathafi : "Since when can you enslave people when their mothers gave birth to them free" ?

CONCLUSION

Ownership took different forms among the different people and in different times and places. But man's need for ownership accompanied him ever since the first stages of his existence, even though the things and the material subject to ownership varied with the form of ownership.

The love of ownership is due to the human instinct of survival. Man needs food and shelter and means of protection, etc.

Love of ownership is linked with man's existence. Ownership provides him with the means of satisfying his needs. In primitive societies, collective ownership prevailed and reflected the simple life prevailing at that time and man's failure in his struggle against nature. Later this type of ownership was turned into private ownership.

When societies developed and man was able to dominate nature, a new kind of struggle appeared, namely the struggle of man against man, as a result of a few seizing most of society's wealth.

Facing these disparities, each nation had its thinkers and reformers who tried to put an end to the prevailing struggles for ownership. Some of them confirmed it and others called for its abolition. Some still gave it a social function, etc. The closer workers are to the ownership of the means of production, the closer they are to the centers of decision making and the easier it is to consider workers as partners rather than wage-earners.

Colonel Qathafi presents his ideas in this respect. He refutes both the capitalist and communist ownership, and calls for the establishment of the direct ownership of the means of production by society. Private ownership according to him is sacred and everyone's right. But it should be confined to exploiting each man's own efforts, without exploiting others as there is no enslavement, and no exploitation in the new Socialist society.

NOTES

(1) Dr Mohamed Ali Hanboula : "The Social Function of Private Property", Cairo, 1947, p. 21.
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Evaluation of the International Economic System

Dr. Ataya El Mahdi El Fitouri

INTRODUCTION

To make the basic idea discussed in these studies clear, it is important to point out that our aim is to underline the weaknesses of the existing international economic system, which has created many economic problems over the past 35 years.

We shall also discuss the most important proposals and an attempt will be made to solve these problems and achieve more justice in the distribution of wealth among all peoples of the world.

The international economic system studied here, includes many different theories which govern international economic relations, whether these concern the exchange of goods and services between countries, or the mechanical transfer of capitals according to which international parts are sold (that is the international monetary system), etc... While theoretically, some results are reached under certain assumptions, yet in practice these theories achieve completely different results. Thus a number of studies indicate that the actual international trade system does not contribute much in achieving the required economic growth in some developing countries and sometimes even retards this growth and leads to a situation of economic distribution in developing countries (1).

This is why we shall consecrate a large part of this study to find the reason why international trade does not lead to the economic development of developing countries. Many international organisations attach a great importance to this problem and hold many conferences to discuss it and try to find a solution to it. The north — south dialogue is being held in this framework ever since the seventies (2).

THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

International economic relations are established for many different reasons. The increase of inter-relations and interdependence between countries add to the importance of these relations.

a) REASON OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS

These relations are established as a result of the following elements :

(1) Increase of rates of economic growth as a result of specialisation. The classical theories of Adam Smith and Ricardo who call for free trade conclude that free international trade leads to the increase in the rate of economic growth in those countries which are a party in the trade relations.

(2) International trade constitutes an outlet for those products which exceed the local market's need. The prospects of the role of international trade in what Adam Smith and John Stewart Mill call the "Vent for surplus" were often discussed (3).

(3) The need to finance projects by importing foreign capital especially in developing poor countries which do not own enough funds to finance their economic development. This is why capital should be kept free, as it constitutes one of the most important factors of production in the developing contries.

(4) The need to use foreign labour and professional skills which may not be available locally in order to achieve higher rates of economic growth. This is why this important factor of production should be free to move between countries.

(5) The need to transfer local savings to private instruments in developing and small countries, as these countries need to import capital equipment which are not produced locally (4). If local savings are not used to import these equipments, it would mean that they failed in fulfilling their objective.

(6) The need to have access to modern technology which increases productivity, as some countries are more developed in certain technologies than others. Thus free international economic relations leads to the exchange of know-how and of the most advanced technologies reached by man.

b) THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The above mentioned reasons for the establishment of an international trade system concerning goods and services as well as production factors, made various countries adhere to this system rather than become confined within their boundaries.

Some countries even depend to a very large extent on international trade, and cannot survive without international exchange. Such countries as Japan and west European countries need to import petroleum, one of the most important sources of energy. Others need to import foodstuffs and primary resources or again, capital goods or modern technology. Thus all parts of the world become intedependant.

If we want to know-how important international trade is, we have to refer to foreign trade statistics as one of the indexes which underline the volume of international exchange.

Table (1) shows the development of exports and imports in the world. It indicates that exports increased 27 times within 23 years, that is from 1950 to 1973. Imports also developed in the same direction as they went from 62,738 million dollars in 1955 to 1 679,225 million dollars worth in 1979. All this shows the importance of international exchange as well as the degree of interdependence between countries in modern age.

Year	Export (million dollars)	Import (million dollars)
1950	60,785	62,738
1960	128,275	135,133
1965	187,010	197,493
1970	313,860	328,723
1975	873,770	902,998
1976	990,589	1.016,939
1977	1.127,247	1.162,998
1978	1.301,680	1.352,992
1979	1.627,030	1.679,225

Another index which shows the importance of international economic relations and international trade, is the index of international gold and foreign currency reserves (international liquidity) which are accepted in all transactions by all countries.

Table (2) shows the important development which occurred in international reserves (6) as they increased from 48,325 million dollars in 1950 to 461,670 in 1980, which represents an increase of about 10 times within the last 30 years.

This development shows the need of the international society to pay its exchanges either with goods and services, or with Capital. Table (2) **Total International Reserves (7) In million dollars.**

Year	Total Reserves
1950	48,325
1960	59,980
1970	93,244
1975	235,963
1976	256,492
1977	305,931
1978	350,371
1979	391,336
1980	461,670

PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE ECONOMIC ORDER

The international economic order leads directly or indirectly to the creation of many economic problems. These problems constitute great restrictions to the economic development in many countries. The following are the major problems which face developing countries (third world countries) which also influence international economic relations :

1) DISPARITY IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The first disparities in income between industrial countries and developing countries became clear at the beginning of the fifties. A large part of this disparity is not only due to the economic system but also to colonialism, which prevailed in developing countries. Most of these countries got their independence after the Second World war. Yet, there is not doubt that the present economic system is, to a large part, the cause of this disparity, and its increase.

Table (3), which shows the average per capita income in industrial and developing countries, underlines the extent of that disparity and indicates its increasing trend. Thus the gap between industrialised countries and developing countries is widening.

Table (3)

Average per capita share in national income in industrialised countries and in developing countries (8).

Year	Industrialised countries (1)	Developing countries (2)	Per capita share in developing countries compated to per capital share in industrialised countries (2 : 1)
1960	1 340	130	0,097
1963	1 600	150	0,094
1970	2 660	210	0,079
1975	4 900	450	0,092
1977	5 880	550	0,094
1978	7 000	610	0,087

The average per capita share in national income in industrialised countries increased more than 6 times within 18 years, from 1960 to 1978 while in developing countries it hardly increased by five times during the same period.

The above table also shows that the individual income in developing countries is much smaller than in industrialised countries. It represented 9,6 % in 1952 and even decreased to 7,9 % in 1970.

All this shows the great importance of the existing problem of disparity in the distribution of wealth in the world, and the extent of the increase caused by the present international economic system.

2) DECREASE OF EXCHANGE RATES

Studies made about the economies of developing countries and the problem they face show that these countries suffer from a decline in the terms trade (9), that is a decline in their exports usually made up of agricultural products such as cocao, coffee, sugar, cotton, rice, etc. or of natural resources such as iron, copper, phosphate, etc. The prices of these products do not increase much and are subjects to fluctuations with a decreasing trend.

As for prices of imported products in developing countries, which are usually made up of manufactured goods, whether consumption or production goods, they tend to increase. Thus the terms of trade are more in favour of industrialised countries and are a source of many problems in developing countries. They constitute a burden to these countries and hinder their economic development.

Many justifications are given to explain the decline of terms of trade such as the decrease of internal demand, flexibility of agricultural products and competition among developing countries in the supply of primary resources, while the demand on these ressources is relatively monopolised. All this causes the prices of raw materials to increase at a lower rate than manufactured goods.

This creates further problems in developing countries as the supply of foreign currencies decreases and becomes less stable, which restricts many development projects and increases their costs which in turn leads to slower growth rates.

Table (4) : **Index Prices of International Exports** (10)
(1975 = 100)

Year	Industrialized Countries	Oil exporting Countries	Developing Countries oil importing Countries
1960	44	15	47
1961	44	15	46
1962	44	15	45
1963	45	15	46
1964	45	15	49
1965	46	15	51
1966	46	15	51
1967	47	15	51
1968	47	15	50
1969	48	15	50
1970	52	15	53
1971	54	15	54
1972	60	19	53
1973	72	21	56
1974	90	95	102
1975	100	100	100
1976	101	106	105
1977	109	117	122
1978	123	117	126
1979	142	170	145
1980	160	282	160

Table (4) shows the development of international export prices in industrialised countries and developing countries. Oil exporting developing countries suffered from a decline in exchange rates before 1971 when their oil export prices were stable while the index prices of export of industrialised countries tended to increase. This meant a decline in the terms of trade of developing countries.

As for non-oil exporting developing countries they suffered from a relative decline in their terms of trade with industrial countries from 1960 to 1973. Prices of industrial countries export increased at a higher pace than the increase of export prices in non-oil exporting developing countries.

In 1974 a great increase in export prices of developing countries occurred, especially in oil exporting countries. After 1975 the increases

were almost similar except in 1980 when export prices of oil exporting countries increased even more.

3) INCREASE OF CAPITAL COSTS

As a result of the decline of the terms of trade and the fluctuation of export prices of developing countries, the foreign exchange income of these countries decreased, and capital goods necessary for economic development projects became very expensive. This made many developing countries unable to import modern technology.

Developing countries cannot produce these modern means of production, and therefore need to transfer their savings to investments by importing these goods. But the continuous increase of capital goods prices, together with the increase of interest rates, made developing countries face great problems. As we said above, in addition to the increase of capital goods prices, the increase in the interest rates on loans made to developing countries to finance their development projects, caused a large part of these countries to be unable to repay their loans.

This development costs increased a lot in developing countries, which led them to give up the use of modern technology and replace it with primitive means of production which in turn led to the fall of growth rates in these countries.

4) THE DOLLAR CRISIS AND ITS EFFECT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The influence of the dollar on the economies of developing countries is a result of the shortcomings of the international monetary system, which depends on international liquidity, made of international reserves of gold and hard currencies.

As a result of the increase of international trade, the quantities of gold produced were not sufficient to satisfy the increasing demand for international liquidity. It was therefore necessary that international reserves of hard currency, especially of dollar, increase.

In other words international liquidity is expected to increase every year, at rates which will exceed the increase of gold production. Therefore, the dollar reserves have to increase and this can only happen if the U.S.A. has a deficit in their balance of payment.

Thus the international monetary system is based on the assumption of a deficit in the balance of payments of the U.S.A. This deficit increases every year as a result of the increase of American expeditures internally and externally, and also because the U.S.A. makes profit from the fact that the dollar is the principal currency in international reserves. This profit is called "seignorage" (11).

The international monetary system is established in favour of the U.S.A. American profits (thanks to the dollar, being the principal currency in international reserves) are estimated at 30 billions dollars over a period of 20 years, from 1950 to 1970. But this continous deficit in the American balance of payments made people loose their confidence in the dollar as the American government was unable to transfer these billions of dollars it issued into gold since they exceeded the American production of gold. This led to the devaluation of the dollar when the latter stopped being exchangable in gold in 1971 (12).

A devaluation of 8 % was made in 1971 and another of 10 % in 1973. Furthermore, this devaluation of the dollar and its "floating" led to the decrease of the real value of reserves of those countries which kept their reserves in dollars. This also affected the prices of many international goods, that is, those goods which are exchanged on international markets like crude oil, as they are usually linked to the dollar.

SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS

Several solutions exist to face the problems arising from the existing international economic relations. Furthermore, many countries tend to adopt policies which lead to the reduction of their international transactions, with the aim of avoiding economic, political and social problems.

1) DIVERSIFICATION OF EXPORTS STRATEGY

As we have seen developing countries depend on the exportation of one product or a few products only, usually agricultural goods and raw materials such as the oil exporting countries.

Oil usually constitutes about 90 % of the country's total exports if not more. Other countries export a few agricultural products such as Egypt, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Cuba, Brazil, Ghana, etc.

The dependence on the exportation of one product only, affects the income of foreign exchange of developing countries. These countries are affected more than others from any charge in demand on their exports. Demand on these products can decrease especially in periods of international economic stagnation which effects development prospects in many countries. To avoid such problems, developing countries should diversify their exports instead of depending on one products only for exportation. This can decrease the losses of foreign exchange when demand for a certain product falls.

This policy affects the entire economic structure of the country and requires a relatively long period of time, estimated at tens of years, until it leads to be establishment of industries capable of competing on the international exports market, which is all very difficult for developing countries.

2) INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC BLOCS

Many small industrialised countries and developing countries tend to form economic blocs, in order to protect their products from the competition of large countries exports. The formation of economic blocs in certain geographical regions and among certain populations provides members of such blocs the freedom to sell their products according to preferential treatment away from any competition from non-members.

Many countries whether industrialised or developing are part of economic blocs, such as the EEC which includes ten European countries, the OECD which in addition to european countries include Japan, Canada, the U.S.A., and the COMECON which includes

Eastern European countries except Yugoslavia, Albania, and the U.S.S.R. There are also many such organisations in the Middle East and in South East Asia and Latin America.

The objective of those organisations or economic blocs is the protection of the member countries' products from outside competition, and the granting a preferential treatment, not only as far as goods and services are concerned, but also for the transfer of labour and the flow of capital.

In addition to the organisation which usually includes countries which are geographically, politically and economically close, there are also bilateral agreements, concluded between countries which may give preference to the import of goods and services, or to the transfer of labour and capital.

3) CREATION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY : THE SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS.

Ever since the first symptoms of instability in the international monetary system (due to the increase of international reserves at a slower rate than the international exchange of goods, services and capital, except by creating a deficit in the American balance of payments), and, as a result of the lack of confidence in the U.S. capacity to pay the value of dollars in gold, and after the devaluation of many hard currencies including the dollar (13), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) started to create a new type of international reserves called the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) in 1970. 3.4 billion SDR s were issued and used to grant loans to those countries in the IMF which suffer from a deficit of their balance of payments.

The SDR value is based on 16 international currencies. Their issue increased the volume of available international reserves to meet the needs of the increasing exchange of goods and services as well as capital, and decreased the dependence on a few currencies which take part in the international reserves. The long term objective is to replace foreign currencies by SDR s.

4) STRATEGIES WHICH LIMIT INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Some countries resort to economic policies which limit trade with others, such as self-sufficiency in certain economic activities and import substitution strategies.

These strategies are mainly adopted to avoid economic and other problems which result from open door trade policies. For example some countries fear the imported inflation which is due to the expansion in the imports of consumer goods ; others may fear the decrease of their exports if their trade partners suffer from economic stagnation. This stagnation, as well as inflation, do not only affect the countries where they prevail, but influence other countries also with whom they have economic relations. This is why many countries are opposed to the existing international economic system which calls for the freedom of transfer of goods, services and capitals, and try to adopt strategies aiming at achieving self-sufficiency.

Many countries, when elaborating their economic development strategies, prefer import substitution strategies, to export promotion policies which, of course, lead to the decrease of the volume of international trade.

5) PROPOSALS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

In addition to the above mentioned policies adopted by certain countries to solve the economic problems they face, attempts are made in the framework of conferences such as the North-South Debate to establish a new international economic order. Many conferences were held in this context, some were official, between representatives of heads of states, and others were unofficial in academic conferences organized by universities or other scientific organisations (14).

The objective of the North-South debate is to permit developing countries to benefit more from their economic relations with industrialised countries and to find bases ensuring the transfer of capitals and technology from industrialised countries to developing countries.

But these debates usually lead to different points of view between industrialised and developing countries, and even among the members of the same group of countries. Thus we may find those who defend short term solutions such as increasing foreign aid, postponement of loan repayment and preferential treatment in trade, while others see the solution in structural changes, which occur in the long run, such as changing market conditions and decreasing the economic relationship between North and South including the reduction of foreign aid and foreign trade (15).

Some writers believe that the North-South Debate is based on the will of some countries to increase their influence in the Third World such as the oil exporting countries. In other words the objective of this debate is political as well as economic. In fact, Third World countries aim at increasing their political influence in addition to having new economic opportunities, by having more access to the markets of industrialised countries, and thereby increase their exports, and by receiving more funds and technology from industrialised countries.

The other group of developing countries sometimes called the "fourth world" prefers to redistribute wealth by adopting the traditional way which is foreign aid.

The North-South debate has not yet found serious solutions to the problem for many reasons, among which are : many industrialised countries do not believe in the usefulness of such debate since it does not benefit any of them, flows having a one way direction from the North to the South. This is why many people dealing with the establishment of a new international economic order do not see any good basis on which developing countries build their claims, except may be on ethical grounds. Another reason for the establishment of their order may be the economic problems which started in the industrialised countries in the seventies such as unemployment, inflation and economic stagnation.

Industrialised countries attach great importance to these problems. As for the developing countries' claims, they are of course less important !...

In spite of the different views about the New International Economic Order, many writers believe that economic matters which hinder growth in developing countries should be controlled. This is of course a

recognition that the market system does not lead to an equal distribution of wealth among countries and this for many reasons.

Therefore, some economists in the industrialised countries call for measures affecting terms of trade, to stop prices from increasing, or to change the custom duty system to help developing countries. Governments can also co-operate with multinational companies to prevent monopolies and bribery. All this, in addition to the direct or indirect foreign aid programs, etc.

CONCLUSION

Developing countries feel the increasing problems caused by the present international economic order which often leads to the flow of wealth from poor countries to rich countries through multinational companies which monopolise some markets — Furthermore, there are other problems which arise from the transfer of internal economic problems from the industrialised countries to the developing countries, such as inflation and the related problems in international payments and stagnation and the reduction of foreign exchange in developing countries, etc.

All these problems prevailing in the developing countries made many industrialised countries and many writers believe that a reconsideration of the existing international economic order is necessary. This is a recognition that the market system does not establish an international balance, nor gives a just distribution of wealth among countries. This recognition is not recent as the shortcomings of the market system became clear in the thirties when the economic crisis prevailed in the capitalist countries.

This leads to look for an alternative system which would achieve justice in the distribution of wealth.

Justice in the distribution of wealth does not necessary mean that poor countries become richer at the expense of the rich countries, but it mainly implies an end to the exploitation of developing countries by international monopolies ; by the re-evaluation of hard currencies and by affecting the prices of traded goods. These elements, all in favour of industrialised countries, must be rectified.

Some writers describe developing countries as beggars, who have no right to claim anything but should be satisfied with what is given to them. Only, developing countries are not beggars, they only claim the revision of those conditions which led them to poverty and ignorance.

The new international economic order shall abolish all the weaknesses which are in the present order especialy those related to the international monetary system, the flow of capital and the transfer of technology. As we have seen, the actual economic order is subject to many changes and has many shortcomings. The IMF tries to avoid these problems by helping in the stabilization of international currencies and by reducing the dependence on these currencies. Therefore, it created the SDRs. More should be done in this context to increase the stability of the international monetary system which leads to the flow of funds from rich countries to poor countries.

It is also important to affect the prices of goods so that terms of trade become a neutral element which does not lead to the reduction of growth in a group of countries and to its acceleration in another. Furthermore, the transfer of modern technology from industrialised countries to developing countries is necessary and in line with the principle of free international trade.

The establishment of a new international economic order ensures the increase of growth in countries which have trade relations together. This is not an easy matter due to the opposing interests between countries which are nevertheless economically interrelated.

Third Part

SOCIAL CONCEPT

In the name of God,
the Merciful,
the Compassionate
"An Introduction
to the Social Aspect"

Dc. Muhammad Lotfi Farhat

The third chapter of *The Green Book* devoted to the social basis of the Third Universal Theory gives prominence to the importance of social factors as well as social inter-relations and defines the characteristics of the Jamahiriya society in which authority, wealth and arms are the sole possession of the popular masses.

It also paves the way to a new civilisation with a truly human dimension and predicts the future of unjust human relations, involving individuals, human communities and traditional social institutions.

What is even more remarkable about this chapter, is the way it deals with social matters, starting with an analysis of the various components of society and a comparison between their social bases and their political foundations. It goes on to point out some of the problems human societies may be confronted with.

It deals with the question of women which is considered to be of a particular nature. The question of minorities, particularly the blacks is also treated. It is predicted in *The Green Book* that the matter will be a prevalent throughout the world given the ineluctability of the socio-historical cycles, as well as the black social situation, i.e. an underdeveloped community with a high population increase.

It also deals with questions concerning education, music and art, sport, riding and performances and shows.

The analysis of the third chapter of *The Green Book* concerning social questions is based on natural laws, and their impact on social relations (as is the case in the first and second chapters of this book). It is worth mentioning that such a process is widely used in the third chapter.

The third chapter begins with the following remarks : "the social, i.e. national factor is the driving force of human history". This idea is brought about thanks to the following cohesive elements :

— The social bond which links human groups together — from the family to the tribe and eventually to the nation — Such is the basis of the historical process.

— The relationship between individuals and groups in a social relationship.

— The national relationship is a social relationship.

— Historical movements are mass movements, i.e. group movements acting for common interests.

— Group movements are always movements for independence. By virtue of its national structure, each group has common social needs which must be fulfilled collectively.

— National struggle is the basis of the historical process. Revolution in the human world is comparable to gravity in the world of mineral and celestial bodies. Accordingly, unity is the prerequisite to its survival. The national factor which is the social bond, operates spontaneously. Such is the nature of matter. It is an established law of nature. To disregard it or act against it is damaging to life.

— There is no rival to the social factors, except religion which may divide the national group or unite groups which are different. However, the social factor will eventually triumph for it is the strongest element.

— The sound rule is that every nation should have a religion. The contrary would be abnormal.

— Such an abnormality creates an unhealthy situation.

— The only solution is to remain in harmony with the natural law — each nation must have a religion.

The Green Book also deals with natural society in which the religious factor is compatible with the social elements. The group works for this and for itself in order to collectively satisfy its common social needs.

Thus harmony is achieved and the life of the group evolves soundly.

— Flourishing society is that in which the individual groups function naturally within the family and the family within society. Without the family nucleus, the individual is deprived of value and social existence.

The family is therefore necessary for the individual who in turn becomes necessary to the family. Consequently, the natural condition of the individual goes hand in hand with the natural existence of the family, which means that natural society could not exist without the natural existence of the family. This natural aspect of society is brought to light by the following assertion :

The tribe is a family which has grown as a result of procreation.

— A nation is a tribe which has grown as a result of procreation.

— The world is a nation which has branched out into a number of nations.

— The relationship which binds the family is that which unites the tribe, the nation and the world. However, the bond weakens with the increase in population.

It is, therefore, of utmost importance for human society to maintain the cohesion of the family, the tribe, the nation and the world. A society which attempts to weaken or disperse the family bond exposes itself to an unnatural evolution, and consequently to decline. Without the social bond, group movements for the collective fulfilment of social needs would prove impossible.

After stressing the importance of the family and the tribe as well as the national factor, *The Green Book* poses a very significant question : "Why has the map of the world witnessed the disappearence of great nations and their replacement by other nations ?"

In fact the world map is drawn up according to political structures which may be incompatible with social structures... The state is not only a social structure as is the family. The national state is the only political form consistent with the natural social structure. It lasts so long as it does not become subject to the tyranny of a stronger national entity.

The following social assertions reveal the factors which constitute the state in social movements :

— The factors that contribute to the formation of the state are of a social, religious, economic and military nature.

— All "multinational" states be they a result of religious, economic or military superiority or man-made ideologies, will be torn apart by national strife until each nation achieves its independence. To disregard the national bond of human groups and to establish a political system in contradiction with social reality, implies the setting up of a temporary structure which will be destroyed by the national movements of each group.

In spite of this bitter reality, *The Green Book* deems it necessary "to be aware of such proven realities in order to avoid deviation, disorder and damage to the life of human groups" The "damage" referred to in *The Green Book* may be related to democracy. One cannot speak of democracy when a group has different common interests. The natural relations which makes each distinct group independent of other groups must be maintained.

This is the social factor, the driving force of human history. In the new society, based on the principles of the Jamahiriya according to which power, wealth and weapons belong solely to the people, we find the crucial basis for a new civilisation. In such a society men and women are equal, all human needs are fulfilled and every individual may find the job which is suited to his qualifications. Here is a society in which children may grow up normally and every man may have a chance to learn and work as a free individual in a free society without any pressures whatsoever. Here is a society in which all kinds of speculation and monopolisation, i.e. the expropriation of authority, wealth, knowledge, arts and sport, will be done away with.

The disappearance of all forms of exclusive posession will result in the fading away of class society. Thus the society of the new civilisation, which I have named Jamahiriya society, will come into being...

The Third Universal Theory and Social Change

Dr Mohammed Farraz
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We shall undertake in this discussion, a subject of great importance and consequence. For a long time, man has spared no effort, (in reverting to numerous intellectual endeavours) to purposely attempt to understand, and set out fundamental explanations for his conditions, tendencies and conceptions. The importance of assimilating the subject, namely social change, does not arise from the fact that it constitutes a subject which provides explanations for past incidents, stages and substages, in the evolution of sociology.

But its importance arises in particular from our endeavours to try and become aware of the changes and demands of the present, even more so, upon trying to predict and create the future by visualising its trend of progress. The socialist society is an organised community in which any change or progress is inevitably the outcome of a general comprehensive plan, and strategic plan drawn up and supervised by man (with the participation of each member of society, since change is a general issue, which concerns the entire society and not just a part of it). In order to effectively subdue the gifts of the present and future to his will, he makes sure that by being consistent and scientific, he will attain his objectives, which are represented by the creation of the new Socialist Society, which shall be the medium for the realisation of the happiness he is aspiring to.

Man's attempts at trying to explain this issue (the issue of social change) were varied and at the same time inconsistent. We shall start by giving an idea of the intellectual attempts which preceded the Third Universal Theory, as well as a criticism of these attempts following which we shall present the Third Universal Theory's particular view point. The main doctrines which have broached this issue could be summed up in what is known as the, "circular Process", and, "The Law of the Three Stages", (The Law of Human Progress). These concepts shall be clarified in our discussions of these doctrines.

A. THE CIRCULAR PROCESS - OR EVOLUTION

The authors of this doctrine affirm that evolution is a fundamental process in every society and that this conception follows a circular process throughout its progress.

Among the most famous of the authors of this doctrine is the Arab scholar "Ibn Khaldoun", as well as the Italian thinker "Vicko".

IBN KHALDOUN

In order that Ibn Khaldoun could provide an explanation for social progress, he used as a basis for his study the aspect of historical development. To attain his objective following this trend, he used a scientific method which was contrary to procedures previously in practice, as historical studies depended upon ; and were based upon heresay and legend (2).

The most distinguishing factor in his scientific method is the argumentative style with which he has undertaken the study of the social phenomena or what he named "Cultural phenomena", which he considered as : "varying", inconsistent and "unstable", plus the fact that the intermingling of its minor & major aspects definitely blocked any attempt to revert to one of its aspects and forego the other.

His comprehensive thinking led him to bestow a new interpretation on history, leading him beyond what had previously been acknowleged to that effect, namely ; when history was considered as the source of human conduct. He now used educational and cultural aspects as the basis for the societies he was to study. Giving an interpretation of this he says : "I include the general causes in the study of the major and minor issues, thereupon I reach a comprehensive understanding of the human race... I search for the origins and reasons of political happenings... (3)".

IBN KHALDOUN'S OUTLOOK ON PROGRESS

Through Ibn Khaldoun's study of the history of mankind, "Human Culture", and using the state as an example for this study, he came up with a law, concerning the evolution of human society which he generalised.

This law could be summarised as follows : — Ibn Khaldoun believes that human society originates in response to a social need — since man needs others in order to fulfil his requirements and solve his

problems, among the most important of which, has been the element of danger, which threatened his life in his primitive society. Consequently, man united with others of his race or formed communities to protect himself from wild animals. Having overcome this need, man could overcome the evil within his mind nor his aggressive nature, thereon he began to look for new measures of protection because he realised that human groups could become a threat to his safety. Thus even the primitive tools and weapons which he owned and which had been adequate for his hunting and devouring of wild animals, started to be of no avail when used against his kind, since they in turn were in possession of the same elements. Due to this dilemma he was forced to seek the production of the strongest among the members of his group (4).

Since social relations in primitive society were direct, it was only natural that the method followed for dividing these groups should be according to agnatic ties. Consequently the "protection" procedures prevailed under the wing of the strongest member of the family or tribe. The strongman's courage and tribal power would eventually lead to the emergence of a type of political system, which came to be known as the "state". The origin of the state would have been the victory of a group of nomads related genetically and whose racism and pride urged them to dominate others and erect the strongest from amongst them as king.

Ibn Khaldoun claims that this type of tribal system is one of two major factors leading to the progress of history (5). Based on this criteria the state thrives or weakens. Upon the creation of the state, which had been based upon tribal system, follows thus a limited historical progress. Ibn Khaldoun claims that the period during which this state lasts is between 80 a 120 years, that is, two to three generations — a generation being approximately forty years. He devided this historical progress into five stages.

1. Stage One :

The fundamental stage during which, tribal, family and religious aspects overcome the enemies of the state and thus the monarchy is

secured, meaning that the founding of the state depends to a great extent upon the element of strength (6).

Stage two.

This is what he calls the phase of despotism and one man rule ; when the king disavows his tribe which has been the cause of his rule and exchanges its protection for that of mercenaries (his methods of rule also change so as to conform with his despotism). (Such befell Beni El Abbas, when Arab sectarianism weakened during the reign of "Al Moatassem" and his son "Al Wathek"). The credit of their return to power was due to help from the Persians, Turks, Seljuks and others. Victory was for the Persians.

Stage three :

The third phase follows that of despotism and greed. Incomes increase and so does expenditure, cultural achievements, industry and arts flourish, thus the state reaches the zenith of power and strength.

Stage four :

The stage of despair and resignment in which the king reaches the state of satisfaction as to his predecessors' achievements and stops searching for renovations and neither does he urge development.

Stage five :

The stage of expansion in which two factors play a major role. In this stage, ease and civilisation flourish and generations are born taking these conditions as ipso-facto. The army weakens and softens and man becomes lazy and cowardly. All this is due to the excess in civilisation which leads to the stripping off of manhood. Thus appeared

the first signs of rupture in the state, namely in the army... followed by great expenditure... resulting in an inbalance between incomes and expenses. Financial chaos and an inability to progress, then occurred.

Some may have tried to recapture past gains, but this always ends in the same way until final failure. Each state shrinks within itself, until it finally dissolves itself, and this occurs with every State however great or small.

B - Vicko is an Italian thinker whose views can be summed up as follows : that human societies undergo three phases throughout their development course, and that at the end of every third phase the first re-occurs in a new robe.

These comprise, the religious, the heroic and the humane, which occur in a repetitive circle.

Vicko chose European Society as an example for the study of human societies and claims that the first stage began with the Odyssey and up to the age of chivalry and feudalism. Bourgeoisie and aristocracy, followed by the age of freedom of thought and human philosophy (10).

THE THEORIES OF LONGTITUDE

The theories which maintain that world progress proceeds in one line (11). Among the most well-known of these theories we shall speak of the theories of Auguste Comte and Karl Marx.

A. Auguste Comte : 1798-1857 - French Sociologist

Comte constructed his theory which explains the process of societal change upon a law which he named "The Law of the Three Stages, (sometimes called the Law of Human Progress), in which he claims that each branch of knowledge passes successively through three different theoretical conditions :

The Theological or Fictitious ; The Metaphysical or Abstract and the Scientific or Positive.

Each of these stages has been signalled by a special kind of thought which is governed a particular type of society.

Based on the particular type of thought which prevailed, Comte divided societies into three parts agreeing with the type of thought.

The Military society which was parallel to the theological.

The Industrial society which was parallel to the positive stage.

The Scholarly which was parallel to the metaphysical stage.

The general peculiarities of thought in each of these stages as well as their parallels could be summed up as follows :

1 - The theological stage is accompanied by a social order in which priests are dominant and military men rule. It is an authoritative agricultural society, the unit in this stage whether social or economical is the family which transmits the political and religious authority.

2 - In the Metaphysical stage the human mind searches for the origin and purpose of all effects and supposes that phenomena are produced by the immediate action of supernatural beings.

3 - In the positive stage, society would be governed by industrial administrations and scientific moral guides.

The mind gives up the vain search for absolute notions, the origin and destination of the universe and the causes of Phenomena, and studies their laws, that is, their relations of succession and resemblance.

Among the most important criticisms directed at Comte and his Three Stages are those which were aimed at the development of Society due to historical circumstances, and his underlying conception that each successive stage or sub-stage in the evolution of the human mind, necessarily grew out of the preceeding one. As well as his statement that a new system had exhausted its potential until social conditions were conducive to its re-establishment.

Many are those who belittle Comte's role in the progress and development of the Social Theory. This is because his original participation was limited, and most of the sources upon which he based his ideas were borrowed from his predecessors. Comte chose the historical facts which would fit the human mind, necessarily growing out of the predeeding one.

To sum up, much of the criticism regarding Comte is that he was a failure as metaphysicist as well as a theologist.

B. Karl Marx - 1818-1883 - German (15).

Marx tried to present a consistent theory with which he could deal with the question of the issue of societal change. What distinguishes this theory is its relatively comprehensive consistent treatment of the trend of by positivist material determinism.

Marx founded his theory which explains history and society by what came to be known as, "Historical Materialism". The principal concept upon wich this doctrine is built is the "dialectical logic" of Heigel (1831-1870). His dialectical doctrine is founded on the fact of assuming the recurrence and order of the empirical phenomena over time, as well as the fact that to establish any outstanding truth also establishes its negation and through the interaction which arises between both positivism and negation, a third phenomenon occurs, which is, in turn, also recurrent and negative.

Marx uses this method of dialect in order to identify the process of history.

The second major concept is Fenerbach's Materialism (1804-1872) which is considered to be the left wing of the Heigalian philosophy ; this effect can be sensed from his insistance that "materialism" is the origin of existence and that man is able to recognise this "material element" even though he may ignore its proceedings.

Combining dialectism and Materialism, Marx arrived at his concept of "dialectical Materialism" which he used as the basis for his view of societal change.

Marx set down four concepts upon which his theory.

First Law :

That of the interweaving of the elements of life ; that is, all elements of life are interwoven and affected by each other and that any change of a part would affect the whole.

Second Law

The law of negativity — Action is intrinsically negative — thus action, if it is to affect the situation, must somehow overcome the resistance of already created objects ; it must negate them.

Third Law

Action itself, changes qualitatively. The relationship between acting and being acted upon is ultimately mediated through the purposive action of concrete individuals — an action that itself changes qualitatively.

Fourth Law

The selfhood of the subject can indeed be conceptualised as an ability not only to retrieve the outcomes of action, but also to develop from these a further ability to engage in a qualitative new action.

. Marx tried to reconstruct human societies upon these concepts and used his theory of positivist material determinism, since the changes which occur in the economic field are reflected in the form of changes affecting all types of society and the manipulators of this process are the classes of society which are divided on the basis of economic distinction, that is between those who own the means of production and the sellers of their capacity — (capitalist and wage-workers).

The process of social change occurs at the base of the lower hierarchy (the production system which includes the productive force and its relations).

Upon the occurence of change, a conflict between other concepts occurs, which he refers to as "the upper hierarchy" that is the ideas, beliefs, law and the life to be found among the prevailing concepts and as a result of the occurence of this flaw in the upper hierarchy a positivist change occurs within its procedures, so as to fit in with the lower hierarchy which inevitably results in a new social framework.

Marxs claims that this productive system has undergone five phases which he maintened were determining in constituting the entire history of mankind : that is all societies throughout their evolution underwent these phases.

1. THE PHASE OF PRIMITIVE PRODUCTION

Or what came to be known as the phase of "Primary effort".

He claims that society within this phase is a classless society, a non-exploitative society, because there wase no place for exploitation in it. Marx states that labour has been divided within society — (which was made up of a family or a number of families who existed within the society) —, and who were related through inter-marriage — between man and woman. In spite of the existence of the strong and the weak, the economics of the single society were directed in a co-operative way. There existed no one type of exploitation, since this type of social defect, as Marx states in and which is backed up by the writings of Engels in the "Origin of the Family", becomes possible in one instance, that is when man produces what suffices his needs and those of others. Only in this way, can one individual live as a parasite. Being so, the primitive society did not possess the element of exploitation, because man in this society produced what sufficed his own specific needs, that is he produced for a specific need such as hunger and his productive capacity stopped at this level. For example to pick fruit to satisfy his hunger.

But Marx has not given an explanation as to how the strong did not try to take advantage of the weak or of women, in the event of the existence of a good shortage (which is a natural event affirmed by Marx himself in his following phase).

The reason for this inefficient explanation is undoubtedly due to his procedure of procuring facts which can be witnessed in the following, namely that the situation existing as the result of the primitive production of tools (spears-stones-sticks) permitted a type of uncomplicated social relationship not exceeding the stage of direct relations between man and nature.

Marx states that : "People throughout the phase depicting social co-production for the purpose of living, conduct special relations among thenselves, which are necessary and independent of their will ; and these specific relations conform to a particular degree of progress in their final productive capacity (17).

We have to stress here that our broaching this type of query, does not imply our siding with the capitalist doctrine, which maintains that private ownership as well as clan distinction are found with the human society on the whole. But what we see here is that the explanation of social relations as provided by positivist determinism, from a purely materialistic outlook (progress in productive tools and what results theory) is an explanation which cannot provide us with a lot of answers to a great number of controversies and causes even though they may be social relations within a primitive society.

2. THE PHASE OF BONDAGE (SLAVERY)

Marx maintains that the falling apart of the primitive society and its replacement by the society of bondage and slavery was a result of several factors, the most important of which was the change that took place in the tools used for production — sharpened spears — hidden treasures of the earth, maising of cattle (he claims that this last element is the most important factor as tribes which live in the areas of great rivers started raising cattle). This element brought about the first division of labour within the primitive society where other communities had been deprived of it.

Following this, there were other activities such as agriculture, and weaving came about, as well as the smelting of metals, followed by the emergence of trade and commerce.

Marx finds that the division which resulted from this type of progress resulted in an increase in the need for workers which lead to invasions bringing about prisoners of war who were used as slaves, thus society was divided into a society of masters and slaves. Yet the division among the members of society who belong to the same origin came about as a result of cattle grazing which was a new means of gain. That is why the prime activity was cross — breeding, followed by

guarding and grazing them which is man's work — therefore the herd belonged to him and the product of bargaining whether for commodities or slaves was his.

All the profit went to the man and the woman enjoyed this outcome at his side but did not have any share in ownership (18).

We should not miss inserting a comment here regarding the positivist material determinism by saying — there were natural distinctions between man and woman in primitive society and which are considered as basic, and which Marx overlooked, in the first phase and the most obvious in the second phase for example, when the woman becomes pregnant and gives birth, undoubtedly she becomes incapable to a great extent of doing work such as hunting, since breeding and guarding the herd are no less dangerous tham hunting, and are therefore not solely a man's privilege. Social factors as evident in Ibn Khaldoun's time could be the cause for ruling and subjugating a number of men by another group, with the bigger in number or strength surely having the advantage over the weak tribes, who had divided their work between cattle breeding and herding.

The third and principal division of work was the emergence of trade which resulted in exploitation by producers and consumers. Merchants used to buy from producers, in particular those who were found far away from the centres of commodity exchanges. Goods were bought for low prices and resold to consumers at high prices — the monetary system was used for buying commodities and with it came interest and usuary (19). As a consequence of this process of the enslaving of producers and peasants and craftsmen (such as happened in Ancient Rome) — the system of slavery widened to include the various economic activities such as mining and and shipping and in some instances the number of slaves exceeded those who were called "Free". In Athens there were 265 thousand slaves vis-à-vis 90 thousand freemen ; in Kantos there were 460 thousand slaves for 46 thousand free men that is a ratio of 10 to 1.

3. THE PHASE OF FEUDALISM

Marx states that the slave system outdid itself as as result of the luxury and the instability through wich Rome lived. The Germanic

tribes which invaded the Roman Empire, and its destruction, lead to the downfall of the age of slavery and bondage, and the start of a new era ; that of feudalism, where the tribal heads as well as leaders of the Germanic troops divided among them the lands of the Roman Empire and each tribe had an army general who subdivided a part of the land and gave it to his followers. During that period, production was the work of the small peasant for which he used a conditioned system, called serfdom ; that is the lord or the leader forced the peasants working on his land to reserve days or hours in order to work for him without pay. Even with simple productivity elements which the peasants aquired a part had to be deducted in the form of a tythe to the lord or leader.

Besides agriculture and feudal estates some cities started to grow at the end of the feudalism phase, in a manner which was separate from the feudalistic system ; these were distinguished by the availability of craftsmanship as well as factories, to which many peasants turned to in order to find a way out from the injustice of feudalism. The struggle augmented later and the feudal state increased its hold on the small peasants on the one hand and upon the cities rebelling against feudalism on the other. Then the bourgeois revolution exploded which aimed at abolishing the feudal system and the start of a new era.

4. THE PHASE OF CAPITALISM

Due to the progress of the third factor — trade — commodity production, was the major aspect in general under the new system — the phase of capitalism — this lead to an increase of workers in industry and trade which in turn, lead to the division of labour, on a wider scale. This phase as a result of the accumulation of goods, and the search for new areas for exploitation, ultimately lead to the capitalist societies into what came to be known as the phase of imperialism thus creating an international market and capitalism.

The motive — of a capitalistic nature — behind the issue of trade — was not to fulfil the needs of the capitalist societies, but the target was to procure the biggest amount of gain which induced a great pressure on and exploitation of the workers. Meanwhile this situation lead to the

renovation and improvement of machinery as well as the introduction of new machinery to settle rivalries.

Since the capitalist system is a creator of the activity of others as well as a procurer of overtime work, an exploiter of the strength of workers, it surpasses (from the point of view of capacity, and effectiveness) all previous productive systems depending on direct obligatory work.

But the capitalist system, with the increase in productive capacity, becomes less adequate from the point of view of mastering the conflict arising from the struggle between workers and owners — this struggle augments to such an extent, that it makes inevitable the fact that a historical universal revolution would break out to put an end to the capitalist system. The capitalist system progresses to such an extent that it provides the materialistic and technological circumstances necessary for the creation of a Communist society and simultaneously produces a power capable of overturning the capitalist system — the proletariat — It is necessary for us to stop at this stage for some comments, before continuing to the final phase.

Our first comment is that what Marx has put forth is a summary of the progress and history of western European societies, that it does not cover all the history of these societies. He was satisfied to a large extent with coverning the issues which coincide with his explanation of positivist material determinism of history.

The biggest fault which is clear and evident upon our trying to generalise this type of analysis is that the rest of the world does not follow the same path of historical evolution.

The most dangerous outcome of this explanation is the crucial point which states that these phases are inevitable. Here Marx has involuntarily stood in the face of the freedom of the Third World and against "revolution" in general. In the first instance because most of the societies of the Third World have not undergone the stages about which he has spoken, (even if they have witnessed a part of them) such as feudalism or primitive coexistence, it would still be their fate to await history's condemnation, in awaiting their turn in evolution until their productive capacity reached the proletarian phase in order to be come a socialist revolution.

The second instance, which is synonymous with the first does not attribute any credit to the will of the individual as well as the nations who are the makers of history, but credits technology with the reason for progress. Marx claims "Humans during social productivity necessary for their living create among themselves particular relations which are necessary and at the same time independent of their will, and these collaborate with the productive relations ; this is a special degree of progress within their materialistic productive capacity reaching a certain rate". In its progress it enters into competition with the existing productive system, that is, it competes with the dominating factors within which it had thrived up to that time. These factors which had been the elements of progress become now bonds which lead to a new social revolution (21).

Marx's materialistic outlook, as well as his philosophy of determinism, lead him to fall into mistakes which he commited unwittingly upon his presentation of his philosophy. We suppose in the same way as a lot of other the Third World writers and thinkers, that the problem of the Third World in being behind progress, does not lie within the unavailability of technology, since technology is a method by which the wealth of the continent is amassed. What technology produced here is not the creation of classes of conscious proletariats, but the opposite ; it did not create a working class but added to the bakwardness and lack of awareness in the nations of the Third World. The repetitive revolutions and instability which are presently taking place, represent a stage of natural emancipation which was not due to technological progress, let alone the evolution in proletarian awarness — due to the fact of the non-existence of this class in the first place - but it is the effect of the will of the nations and a collection of other social elements, (among which, the elements of leadership, and freedom which are reasons behind these revolutions) which have destroyed the phases of Marx which we could call imaginary phases, which are not even true having never existed. Another comment which is complementary to the first, and which we feel, as coming from the Third World and which we disagree with in Marx's material doctrine and his determinism regarding history, is his attitude vis-a-vis imperialism. In spite of Marx's siding with the oppressed and his defending them, to the extent that he has set forth his theory as a practical means for the working class to

free itself from the oppression of oppressors, his positivist material determinism has made him welcome the European colonisation of the countries of the Third World. We find in Marx's writing relating to the colonisation of India by Britain, that he sided with it regarding it as a method of the breaking through the circle of the Asiatic formal belt of production, as well as its social system which had kept Indian society backward.

Marx maintained that injecting technology into Indian society as well as its after effects on trade and other issues and new social relations, would put an end to the existing relations and ease the revolutionary process within Indian society.

What happened was the opposite, since Britain in her dealings with India (as well as with the rest of her other colonies) destroyed the positive assets which could have been the seeds of progress — such as the existence of some industries... and deep-rooted within its colonies planted the seeds of bad relations so as to maintain and increase its backwardness. One of the African thinkers says — in spite of his being a Marxist — that the study of the backwardness of African societies starts with the first step which the white man took in its direction towards colonising these societies (22).

A final comment which has been repeated thousands of times, is that the oldest countries (and those considered as the most progressive) have not undergone a socialist revolution as predicted by Marx, and this occured in societies where the feudal tendency rather than the capitalist tendency existed. This is now occuring in African and Latin American societies in spite of their technological deficiencies to an extent which has left no part to the working class effective enough, where we find peasants and bedouins leading the war for national and social freedom. The aim of these comments is not an enmity to Marxism and the unconscious alignement with capitalism. We are bringing forth this type of criticism for two reasons :

1 - We do not believe that the process of criticizing the capitalist system requires a lot of effort and research, but that its corruption and the inevitability of capitalisation is a matter on which any two people in the Third World or the capitalist world itself would agree.

2 - The second point we bring up is the weakness and passivity of the Marxist theory. We believe that it is not yet too late to forego these

faults — among the thinkers and advocates of freedom movements or those who fight in order to abolish all types of exploitation but who also fall into the same pits that Marx fell into — if we try and find an excuse for him because he lived in a Western society about a hundred years ago — yet we cannot find any justification for falling into the same traps for those who are living in the final quarter of the twentieth century, and who are witnessing freedom movements and the struggle of the people aiming at firmly establishing socialism in societies which have not undergone the positivist material determinism which Marx set out, but who are enduring these phases in order to be able to build the age of the people in which all types of exploitation which had reigning over past societies disappears.

5. THE PHASE OF SOCIALISM (The primary step in an overall phase — that of Communism).

This is the fifth phase which is a result of the capitalist system and which is realised through the progress of capitalist technology as well as the awareness of the working class which leads to conflict within capitalist society to the point of explosion. This is depicted in the working class revolting against the prevailing situation and their gradual exchange of the dictatorship for the working class, paving the way to an egalitarian society and the class struggle within it directed against nature.

Is this what actually happened ? Has socialism in its present form been able to abolish class struggle or has it emerged in a new role ? Has man's happiness and freedom been achieved or has the opposite taken place ?

The answer to these questions shall be undertaken by us by presenting the alternative, which is what we shall discuss in dealing with the issue of change as seen by the Third Universal Theory.

THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As a starting point, we can say that the Third Universal Theory does not deal with the classic concept of change, and in dealing with this issue, does not follow any of the previous theories, which have stopped still after explaining one of the phenomena of change as one of its elements, based on the fact that change is an inevitable, accepted fact.

The Third Universal Theory, by means of its nontraditional outlook, has evoked very important questions which will undoubtedly lead to the reviewing as well as the rephrasing of new concepts for change, which differ completely and basically from previously accepted ones.

What distinguishes the Third Universal Theory is the standard as well as the course which measures and defines it, and through which it behaves to relating the issue in question — all in all — the concept of change.

The Third Universal Theory uses a basic standard by which it evaluates the facts of history, as well as its events and the effect of the crystalisation of these events and facts into systems — What these systems contain in terms of relations and how these relations affect the individual within society. As a result, it passes its judgement if these events and facts and results represent change or someting else. The basic standard is man's happiness, in all that this sentence in terms of from humane concepts. As for its scientific course, it begins by studying facts and events and their causes and their ensuing results, studying them scientifically in order for them to proceed to define the defects within them, and to present the best alternative — which ought to be defined, and sets objectives and fixes the methods required to attain these objectives, which undoubtedly aim at the freedom of man, through which his happiness would be achieved in the new Socialist Society. The People's Society is medium is the people's revolution which destroys the basic old oppression which holds man in bondage and stands in the way of his achieving happiness. It all sets down the basics through which man is able to attain his freedom and realise his happiness.

In the following pages we shall try to clarify the scientific course as applied to the study of the actual living facts in human societies. We

hope, at the same time, to reach a new understanding of the meaning of change.

Man in his present society, is an unhappy creature — a fact which no-one can deny — and which requires no Herculean effort on our part in order to prove it. The existing facts remind man of this reality all the while, he is remined of it in all the news he hears, in all the news he listens to, in each step he takes in order to fulfil a need or solve a problem.

The obstacles in the way of man's happiness are easy to recognise with precision by studying the relations that govern human society, and which are depicted by two examples (Marxism and Capitalism) each of which maintains that they are the depositor of the highest level and final phase of societal change (23).

Since the capitalist system as well as the capitalist example are considered as antecedents to the Marxist system, we shall begin by defining the distinguishing relations which characterise this system, and we shall concentrate upon these relations and regulations which we consider as basic in as much as the issue of man's freedom and happiness are concerned. These aspects shall be considered as the criteria by which we shall define the meaning of change. We shall follow the method of comparison between the relations and regulations previously in the capitalist as well as the Marxist Societies.

In the event of discovering that the relationship which had prevailed in the capitalist society had disappeared from the Marxist Society, we shall then analyse the new relations in the Marxist Society whether in actual fact it has changed and is not just a pretence — that is, does it achieve man's happiness or not ?

If we find that the Marxist Society still holds the same relations, rules and regulations which had prevailed in the Capitalist society, we shall consequently reach a logical conclusion, this being that both societies contain the same characteristics by reverting to comparative measures, concluding that the basic essence of both societies have not changed and that what took place was a superficial change, in other words, both societies represented a different face of the same coin (24).

We shall, for example, concentrate upon the economic hierarchy as well as the relations governing both systems from this aspect —

meaning the nature of this activity and the type of the existing relations which govern the productive powers — the manner in which this economic system is manipulated, who invest in it, and how is it vested.

Following this, we shall proceed to discuss general issues which overlap the economic issue, to include political and social elements, for example, who holds the authority to issue decisions which effect political decisions, and the social system, and define a particular type of relationship through relevant rules and regulations, etc.

1 - The relations that govern the parties of the productive power.

In the capitalist society there are oppressive relations as well as unequal relations between the work master and the wage workers. The work master exploits the wage worker and deducts the greatest part of the income for himself.

In the Marxist Society, the same equation still prevails, that is, there is a work master and wage workers, and change has been in the perceptual form only, meaning that the work master in the first instance is the "capital", whether an individual or a class. In the second instance, it became the capitalist state itself. But essentially nothing changed. The parties remained the same — bearing the same basic characteristics yet differing in their perceptive forms.

2 - The investment of productivity and ownership by the State.

Within the capitalist society, the individual or the class. The society of the individual monopoly of society. They are the parties involved in directing the largest portion deducted from the productivity of the wage workers. To serve their own interests they also own and control the factors of production. In the Marxist Society, the State plays the same role played by the capitalists in the capitalist society.

The judgement over the two previous aspects could take shape through what *The Green Book* professes in dealing with this problem, "Despite all these not inconsiderable developments in the history of the economic problem, nevertheless, the problem still basically exists. Modifications, provisions and other measures have made the problem less severe than it was in past centuries by gaining many advantages for the workers. Yet, the economic problem has not been solved. All attempts which have concentrated on ownership have not solved the problem of producers. They are still wage-workers, even when ownership has been transferred from the existence from the extreme

right to the extreme left or has been given various intermediate positions.

Attempts to improve wages are as important as those which lead to the transfer of ownership. The benefits received by the workers, guaranteed by legislation and protected by trade unions are all that have been achieved in tackling the problem of wages. Thus the hard conditions of the producers immediately after the Industrial revolution have been transformed, and, in the course of time, workers, technicians and administrators have gained previously unattainable rights. However, the economic problem still, exists.

This attempt confined to wages, was certainly not a solution at all. It is an artificial attempt, aimed merely at reform, more of an act charity than a recognition of the rights of workers. Because they carry out a production process for the benefit of others who hire them to produce a certain "product". In this case they have not consumed their production, but have been obliged to surrender it for a wage. The sound rule is (25) "Wage workers are a type of slave, however improved their wages may be" (26).

The Green Book presents the producer himself as the consumer of his production, instead of being obliged to surrender it to another party for a wage, "He who produces, is the one who consumes (27)".

The Green Book professes that the ultimate solution lies in the replacement mentioned above, "The ultimate solution is to abolish the wage-system, free man from his bondage and return to the natural law, which defined relationships before the emergence of classes, forms and governments and man made laws. The natural rules are the measures, the reference book and the sole course in human relationships (28).

MANAGEMENT

In both prevailing systems there exists the principle of management. In the capitalist society there is a special type of management by and for the benefit of particular individuals. In the Marxist society management is undertaken by the government.

The basic party who is trodden upon is the producer who is controlled by management, as well as to the directing of his effort in the direction which ensures its gain. To attain this end, administrative laws and regulations are set up which ultimately lead to the acquisition of the workers productive power or directing it towards a non-productive end, whether for the capitalist class or the capitalist government.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

The commercial enterprises in capitalist societies are enterprises aiming at the realisation of the greatest amount of profit out of their commercial activity. These enterprises revert to all types of treachery and trickery under the cover of competition and publication, so as to mock the consumer and make him yield the greatest amount of profit for the benefit of the exploiting class.

Meanwhile, in the Marxist society, commerce is manipulated by means of government enterprises and still uses measures leading to profit, which is, in itself, an inexcusable type of abuse.

The Green Book states its viewpoint as regards this, and gives the alternative for the present practice, Economic activity in the new socialist society is productive activity for the satisfaction of material needs. It is not unproductive activity or an activity which seeks profit in order, after satisfying material needs, to save the surplus (29).

THE DIRECTIVES TO SOCIAL POLICY

Meaning who is authorised to make the decisions which are to be the basis of relationships between the various social parties, and who shall draw up policies and plan for the future determinating social tendencies and trends.

In the capitalist Society — the exploiting class, a number of individuals who monopolise the wealth and policy of society, are those who draw up the policy of society by imposing their personal points of view. We often hear the false assumption that the capitalist society progresses authomatically without interference from any outside

member, be it the government, a social enterprise and so forth. The truth is contrary to this. As the original circumstances have been built upon unjust bases which aim at serving the interests of a minority and enable them to control — consequently there is an interference which stands as an obstacle in the face of any other interference which may eventually lead to planning which in turn will lead to change in these abnormal circumtances.

If we compare the Marxist with the Capitalist system as far as the above is concerned, we shall find that the interests of the state have been exchanged for those of the individual. This takes place not only in the field of personal interests but also in planning for a wider and developing construction scale aiming at the exchange of individual personal formation to that which would generally aim at serving the interests of the state.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT

This issue is related to the previous one, that is, a relation as far as decision-making is concerned, but deals in a direct manner with the institutions and establishments, parties, classes and a number of parties.

A - Parliaments are characterised by a specification which excludes democracy which it maintains as its backbonè and the reason for its existence. Parliaments are founded on the basis of representation. A group of people are elected and thus acquire authority by means of treachery. The least that can be said about it is that it is a formal deception, as the elected person exercises authority and usurps the right of the people to decide their fate. The role of the people in exercising their authority ends, by electing someone who may not even be accepted unanimously for elections — but who once elected —, exercises authority, excluding the masses from power.

THE SOLUTION PRESENTED BY *THE GREEN BOOK* TO THIS PROBLEM

"Parliamentary governments are a misleading solution to the problem of democracy". A parliament is originally founded to represent the people, but this in itself is undemocratic, because democracy means the authority of the people and not an authority acting on their behalf. The mere existence of a parliament means the absence of the people (30)".

The relation between the members and the people is "immediately upon winning their votes, he himself usurps their sovereignty and acts instead of them".

It is the right of nations today to struggle in the formation of revolution of the masses for the purpose of destroying the democratic instruments of monopoly, as well as the supremacy which robs the will of the people and which they call "Parliaments". The masses should cry out their new principle of : "No representation on behalf of the people (31)".

The view point of the Universal Theory as regards parties is no less harsh than its view regarding parliaments, that is because the foundation of this establishment does not differ from its affiliate, "The party is the contemporary dictatorship... It is the modern dictatorial instrument of government...

The party system is an open, not a covert, dictatorship. The world has not yet passed beyond it and it is rightly called the, "dictatorship of a modern age". "The party is not a democratic instrument at all because it is composed of people who have common interests, a common outlook or a common culture ; or who belong to the same locality or have the same belief. They form a party to achieve their ends, impose their outlook and impose the whole of their belief on society as a whole. A party's aim is to achieve power under the pretext of carrying out its programme (32).

The class political system is the same as the party and parliaments, as it represents a part of the whole, and when it reaches the state of power and dominates society it becomes the rule of the part over the whole and a dictatorship". If a class, party, tribe or sect dominates a society. The whole system becomes a dictatorship (33).

The conclusion we have reached is that all instruments of government prevailing in both societies — which we have used as examples — are instruments which represent the rule of the part over the whole. They are thus instruments which practice authority in lieu of the people and however much they try to dress themselves in the robes of democracy, they are, in reality, dictatorial. Both systems are so identical in essence, even though they may differ in their outer forms.

The similarity between both systems has reached a state of identification even in their ideologies and strategies, that it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between them, on the scale of armament, as an example, in which both systems use a device to rob the producers of their profit under the slogan of "the purpose of preserving the socialist gains — and for fighting off the "red" threat.

The allocation of huge budgets to that effect, increases the unhappiness of the producers, through the creation of false priorities, which add obstacles to the producers' attainment of the degrees of prosperity which they have always been promised.

The danger of identification between both examples, — at least between the most important points — has reached a point at which both have become unable to differentiate between the priorities of their transitory and strategic objectives. We thus find that in the race to control the world and the redistribution of its territories, the main issue which is that the nations to have the right to decide their own fates, has become a subsidiary issue as far as these powers — who profess that they are the guardians of freedom — are concerned. Yet we cannot maintain that our judgment of both systems is equal in force but comparison here is for the benefit of pointing out the points of similarity, as well as the policies of cause and effect which the capitalist system, enjoying a wide reputation for human tragedy — is applying.

The Marxist system has been forced to practise the same policy, but this would not have taken place if the Marxist system had been free from defects on the ideological scale, as well as the application scale. If not for this, China would not, after a struggle of half a century, be bowing down and going back to binding itself with the bonds of capitalism once more.

From the above discussion, and the providing of the various examples, we can state that what took place in the world, and came to be called change, has not been an actual or principal change, but has in fact, been a re-shuffling of the state of societies throughout their transition from the sovereignty of capitalism to that of Marxism. What it has witnessed has been a rotation between two stages different in outlook but identical in essence, just like the two sides of a coin.

What the Third Universal Theory presents on the individual scale is the freeing of needs — and the acquisition of freedom in overall scales so as to realise man's happiness.

The unrest that vanquished societies are going through as a result of the present system is the best example of proving their inability, not to say their incompatibility, of facing man's problems, let alone lead to a major change.

The Third Universal Theory casts its philosophy as the philosophy of the masses who regard it as their final independence, freedom from bondage and instruments of authority and repression, as well as the way to achieving their happiness.

It portrays the revolution of the masses as an introduction — and direct popular democracy through Popular Congresses and People's Committees as a eans, and freedom and happiness as an objective for which the people's society struggles. "Popular Congresses are the only means to achieve popular democracy..."

Popular Congresses and people's committees are not creations of the imagination so much as they are the product of human thought which has absorbed all human experiments to achieve democracy.

NOTES

(1) Ibn Khaldoun was an Arab scholar born in Tunis in the year 1332 A D. He was a man of thought and politics, who visited many Arab countries such as Tunis, Morocco, Syria and Egypt, in addition to Spain. He held many posts among which was that of a judge in Egypt. He wrote many books, the most famous of which is the "Introduction" (El Mokadema). He is considered by many people as the "Father of Sociology".
(2) We shall use two main references :
a) Ibn Khaldoun, written by Teisire Shib El Ard, Published by Dar El Anwar, Beyrut, 1966.
b) In the Philosophy of Politics, written by Dr Amira Helmy Mattar, Dar El Thakaja Publications-Cairo 1978.
(3) The Introduction to History.
(4) We find this idea took shape mostly among sociologists, in particular Hobbs, who maintened that a strong central authority was the way of freeing society from the chaos of primitive societies in their animal antagonism and individual egoism. For more details refer to "The Fields of Freedom — written by Yousif Saad — Dar El Ketab El Arabi, Cairo, 1968, pages 34 to 36.
(5) The other motivator is religion — where Ibn Khaldoun maintains that religion is the most successful measure to facilitate the exercise of power over bedouins because they can only be driven by a ruler through this medium — that is religion. Yet he gave priority to the social issues (racial) considering that the mastery of religion is affected by means of a particular social urge in which racialism plays a major role. See Ibn Khaldoun, pages 236 to 237.
(6) Human beings by nature need motivation and a ruler who can keep one away from the other. He must be able to overcome them tribally and this is the monarchy... Monarchism is supreme power, and autocratic rule. "El Mokadema", pages 492-440.
(7) El Mokadema, pages 462-467 in two volumes, Ibn Khaldoun page 243.
(8) Ibn Khaldoun page 243.
(9) El Mokadema, H 2, pages 698-702, Ibn Khaldoun page 274.
(10) "Societal Change", by Dr Ahmed El Khashab published by the Egyptian General Organization for publishing 1971, page 27.
(11) "The Fields of the Science of Sociology" Written by Dr Mohamed El Gohany and Dr Alia Shukry and others, Dar El Maaref, Cairo, 1976, page 338.
(12) "Fields of the Science of Sociology" page 38-39.
(13) Refer to : Comte in the Blance, chapter 2, pages 43-62. The book, The Theory of the Science of Sociology Its nature and progress, Written by Nicolas Timasky, translated by Dr Mahmoud Oudah and others.
(14) Marx is known for his usage of Heigl's Dialecticism, but that is after his turning it around (according to his claim) where Marx claims that Heigle turned it on its head, while he, Marx returned it to its natural posture, that is on its feet.
(15) The basic references used to introduce Marxist thought, philosophy and politics, The Theory of the Science of Sociology, The Fields of the Science of Sociology, The Social Service Method in Systemizing Society, By Dr Sayed Abu Bahr Hassanein, Anglo Egyptian Library 1976.
(16) Frederich Engels (The origin of the Family — Individual Ownership and the State) The Arabic version — Dar El Azaby and Dar El Ketab El Araby — Damascus 1978.
(17) A participation in the criticism of Economics and politics — Karl Marx — Dar Demask for Publications, 1964, page 53.
(18) The Origin of the Family... page 255.
(19) The Origin of the Family... page 262.

(20) Das Capital — Karl Marx — publication of Dar El Nashr El Yakza El Arabia — Damascus — 1958 part 1, pages 458-459.
(21) Philosophical Studies — Karl Marx and Frederich Engels, page 13.
(22) How Europe led to the backwardness of Africa — Collins 1976.
(23) The Marxist society is the start of the socialist phase which Marx considers as the last phase of progress. The bourgeoise thinkers maintain that the capitalist society is the final progressive phase. As an example of this, we have the American sociologist "Rusto" who in his book "The stages of economic Development" 1960, says that human society has undergone given stages, these being :
1. — The typical Society.
2. — The preparatory stage for release.
3. — The stage for release.
4. — The stage of maturity.
5. — The stage of abundance in consumption which he relates to the factuals of the western Industrial Society, when he sets out the materialistic specifications of the American Society as being the specifications for the final phase of development.
(24) In this analysis we shall rely on the speech of the leader Muammar Al Qathafi which made in the Green Hall, and which was entitled "The World wavers but has not changed".
(25) The Green Book, *by Muammar Al Qathafi — Part two — The solution of the Economic Problem, "Socialism" pages 77-78.*
(26) The Green Book, *page 78.*
(27) The Green Book, page 78.
(28) The Green Book, *page 81.*
(29) The Green Book, *page 94.*
(30) The Green Book, *pages 12-13.*
(31) The Green Book, *page 13.*
(32) The Green Book, *page 19.*
(33) The Green Book, *pages 30-31.*
(34) The Green Book, *pages 45-49.*

The Concept of Education in The Green Book *and its Effect upon the Structure of the Method*

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In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Merciful.

FOREWARD

Teaching and the teaching methods of any society is in fact an out put of the prevailing philosophy that society shows in all its different cultural, social, economic, political and spiritual aspects.

So, the definition of the society's ways of acting, its economic and intellectual orientation, and its historical and cultural principles, determine and crystalise its educational aims and therefore its teaching starting points. And there can not be a teaching system without being based on clearer goals and well-defined methods that are certainly strongly linked to the society's philosophy.

Thus the definition of our objective of life shapes the educational system in view of adopting it to the achievement of that objective. Some educators such as Robert R. Rusk go further to think that the educational aim is strongly correlated with the objective of life, and education suggests the suitable means to attain this objective (1).

It has become reprehensible to confirm that education is the deliberate effort aiming at the orientation of people to the elements of culture to which they adopt themselves and adjust in order to attain progress. This means then clearly that such an educational function is not confined to what a school gives through the normal teaching programmes within its small space, but it is in fact a process undertaken by the whole society either inside or outside school.

As a result, there has always been a clear relationship between education and the culture of society, (the prevailing cultural, social, economic and political conditions in a society) since education occupies its place as an integral part of the culture whenever and whatever.

Education, as it is regarded by the Arab Educational, cultural and scientific organization (AL.E.S.C.O.) is the comprehensive development in all its economic and human dimensions, the entrance and the key of scientific and technological civilisations, and man in the core of all that being both the means and the aim (2).

Education is then a social act undertaken at a specific time in a specific place, as a response to the needs of development (through knowledge of the elements of culture, adaptation to them and their

adjustment of these elements) of a given society in general, and development in particular.

Since education is development (the cultural performance) in all its different dimensions, the system is then the means or the device to attain the general aims of education, so the educational goals springing from the general philosophy of society are considered the starting point for studying the method.

It is the philosophy of society that defines the general educational aims which, in turn, yield the definition of the method, goals, and then deed to build its content and determine the ways of its performance.

The prevailing philosophy in society governs then the school and its methods, the adopted teaching methods, the way of running it and the human relations within that school. Napoleon, for instance, used to teach children that the emperor is the prophet of the divine power and the shadow of God on earth, and that work, obedience and serving him is in fact a veneration and a service rendered to God himself (3), while we find that the philosophy of a public-oriented society aims at the achievement of the individual's freedom to rid his mind of ignorance and fanaticism, and school becomes therefore an echo of the philosophy in that it helps people to form fair personalities with personal ways of thinking and practicing their options in order to attain the phase of production and creation.

That is in fact, the real aim to be attained as said Muammar Kathafi when man achieves his freedom and copes with his problems (4). These liberties will never be attained without abolishing the present traditional teaching styles by means of a world-wide cultural revolution that releases man from oppression, injustice and forced stultification.

Thus came out the Third Universal Theory to announce that "all (education) the teaching methods prevailing in the world must be abolished by a world-wide cultural theory that liberates the human mentality from the fanatical systems and the deliberate conditioning of man's sense, meaning and mentality (5).

We'll try in this paper to examine the concept of teaching in the Third Universal Theory, and since talking about education and its aims, the method problem and its content makes it necessary to expose and analyse — even summarily — some basic issues connected with the

meaning of education as it appeared in *The Green Book* and used by Muammar Kathafi in his talks, meetings and speeches.

This paper's taste is confined to cast some light on the meaning of teaching as a means of government by using power and oppressing people's freedom of choosing. This paper deals also with the concept of teaching according to *The Green Book,* and its effect upon the structure of the method.

Owing to the fact that freedom, educational application and sound educational practise are not raised without intellectual stand points paving the path for educators and those interested in teaching issues and problems, yet we should mention that this paper is not expected to deal with the psychological and educational concepts and theories as a theoretical reality.

GENERAL APPROACH TO THE CONCEPT OF METHOD AND ITS EVOLUTION

Life continuation and societies' existence and their evolution depend on the process of knowledge and the transfer from one generation to another. Thus the human civilisation which is a product of the human heritage has a historical dimension since all the human societies, the ancient as well as the modern, had contributed to its erection.

It is a unique phenomenon in the history of humanity in its world-wide aspect and its gigantic ability to comprise all aspects of the human life. Education from this point of view is not a one-day or a present-born product, but a socio-historical and a deep-rooted field having its historical bases that help understand the educational issues within their integrative cultural context.

Before the human civilisation made some progress, knowledge, skills and trends were handed down from one generation to another in an irregular manner. But in the course of time there was an accumulation of the human experience which made it necessary for the societies to establish teaching institutions in order to compile, organise and hand down the human heritage to the coming generations. As a result, schools were created coupled with the

confusing and unending question with the continuation of life itself : what should children present ?

The answer was the appearance of the method that organises the teaching process.

The method is effected and submitted as to its concept and the development of its concept and the development of its content to many factors among which the prevailing philosophy may be the most important one. The society's philosophy in the widest meaning and which determines the intellectual framework of the teaching orientations is not regardered from a static and constant point of view. It changes according to specific conditions.

1 - The philosophical and materialistic side comprising the values and religious convictions, the historical and cultural principles, the social structure and economic theories as well as the political options.

2 - The intellectual and scientific side including the human heritage and culture, the scientific and technological progress and the evolution of psychological and educational thought.

3 - The educational and psychological side comprising the general educational aims, the comprehension of the human nature and the recognition of the phases and characteristics of development.

The teaching philosophy existing nowadays in the world which are set by government, have the greatest effect upon the creation of a submitted person who serves the regimes' interests and extending their life span by passing him through the different teaching phases in order to make him at their back and call.

The teaching policies prevailing nowadays in most countries stem from the government theory of the goal's nature and the kind of life to be attained.

Thus the human history confirmes an is still confirming clearly how teaching was and is still serving, the dominating political systems/the means of government. The method was by a long tradition submitted to the nature of life the society held. We therefore, find that the aim of the political philosophy and the social opinion prevailing in the Ancient Greek, for instance, is to reach virtue by knowledge.

The educational system to which Plato called is a system that serves a society of classes' That's why he devoted his efforts to educate the

leaders or the élite who where given a good education — justice might be established in society.

Education, for Aristotle, is a means used for the stabilisation of the state and the ruling regime. Thus the educational aims at that time sought to create a class whose members reach the highest positions to hold authority, or what is called the class of the wise and philosophers.

Concentration in the Greek education was also upon the educational part and confined to the intellectual side in order to achieve the highest aim regardless of the individual's real needs.

The main problem in education for the Greeks might have been that of full acceptance of the virtue or excellence. That's why the virtue or excellence was the final objective of the educational process for the Greeks — Dr. Saïd Ibrahim Al Jaïar said : "What should be emphasised here is that the early political tendencies which appeared in Ancient Greece had a great impact upon the developments that came to be known later in Europe. Furthermore, we know that education is effected by the social conditions in which it exists. Indeed, teaching in the Greek cities confirms this fact, and clear differences between one city and another came out according to the geographical, social and political conditions. In general, the Greek education showed almost for the first time that politics and teaching are strongly linked so that teaching became one of the important means of the State in the Greek cities specially in Athenes and Sparta !" (6).

With the evolution of humanity and the development of the educational thought, the modern attitude towards a teaching and teaching methods, its means and system, arouse yet this modern attitude was also influenced by the kind of the prevailing philosophy in society, that is to say the philosophy of the means of government. On that basis, the method was defined as the whole educational knowledge offered to pupils by their school inside and outside its limits in order to help them develop their personalities from all sides. This development should be homogenised with the teaching aims (7). However, in spite of the exhausting efforts made in this respect in order to give a comprehensive and wide concept to teaching, these efforts are still conditioned by the limited character and specificity of the teaching objective.

Most educational aims in the world nowadays are set on the basis of a pre-determined conception of the teaching model. The kind of knowledge and the opportunities of providing it, hence, the wanted quality of he individual's structure is a final result of this deliberate design are therefore determined by this conception.

The analysis of the Natural Doctrine and the educational philosophy of J.-J. Rousseau (in the light of the historical context and with respect to the modern development in educational thought), finds out that the educational revolution made by Rousseau gives expression to a social condition and intellectual trends the bases of which were a revolution against the absolute power of the kings, the static economic systems as well as the class based social orders, the tyranny of the church, the non-scientific conceptions of life and the idea of the first sin as a natural feature of the human nature. Rousseau's views were a revolution against the educational conceptions which existed at that time, and appeal for the imposition of knowledge and severe punishment of children if they would not assimilate it. Rousseau's precepts were nothing but an application of the general principle based upon his rejection of what people then used to follow. A piece of his advice to the educator was : "take always the opposite of the common way, you often find yourself on the right one".

The most illustrative example of the political tendency taken by education in the USA at the end of the 1950 as a result of the scientific progress made by Russia in the field of space conquest with the beginning of the age of satellites (sputnik) by the year 1957, is when the Americans put emphasis on the redefinition and restructuring of the system by the Commission of Physical Science Studies in order to reduce the gap, pushed by the influence of power and usurpation of the reigns of leadership in the world.

This was the important event that happened on the world level but as far as the nationalist (Arab) level is concerned, just speak and nothing stands in your way. The Arab countries, just like the other developing states have sticked at ineffective teaching models which are almost wholly unique to our teaching systems — And this kind of teaching can be achieved — according to these models — only through the traditional teaching years alone, having as a compulsory basis the class-room, the teacher and the book.

If we tried-even briefly — to examine the features of the educational crisis in the Arab nations nowadays as a result of confusion, stumbling and experiment that is not based on scientific rules and the political conception of the means of government, we would realise the great secret behind the new version of *The Green Book* and its author Muammar Kathafi and his conception of teaching and cultural revolution.

1 - The Arab political regimes that wanted to develop education and release it from its shortcomings were unable to face education as a real cultural revolution, aiming at radical changes in the teaching structure and the teaching philosophy and its methods. The means of government in the Arab nations and their practices to rob the people of their freedom and their obliteration of man's personality are certainly going towards the imposition of the kind of teaching that serves their interests and keeps them the sole holders of power for a longer time.

2 - The domination of the conservative intellectual trends over most of the universities and educational institutions — Such trends were nothing other than a legacy of long years marked by the domination of the conservative and reactionary forces during the period of colonisation. Such a generalisation should not however lead us to neglect the role — although limited — that a group of progressive intellectuals had played.

3 - The lack of scientific planning of the teaching policy continues to be one of the reasons that have frozen the capacities of the Arab citizen. The vagueness of the concept of priorities made the social demand the leading factor of the teaching process, without giving interests to the needs of society and the requirements of development. This rupture between the teaching system and the needs of the society led to a regrettable fact consisting in the wide gap between the progress and development achieved by the Arab society on the social and economic level and the universities' methods and their scientific level.

This shows that the content and style of teaching are defined according to the political aim. It becomes then clear that the teaching methods existing in the world nowadays, inspite of the different philosophies are all opponents of man's freedom since they are a compulsory obliteration of man's talents and an arbitrary orientation of

his choices. There is no doubt that forcing the individual to learn a specific method is a non-democratic act rejected by human nature. But this is unfortunately the truth since man is forced and bound to learn a method even if it might no represent his choice :

* The capitalist conception of teaching which is closely linked to the existence of the political power in the hands of the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) sets the educational goals that will serve this objective. It's sure that the domination of the idea of the capitalist conception creates a kind of teaching aiming at sanctifying the social classes and categories which have a characteristic culture. In this pattern of teaching, the culture of the bourgeois society with all its negative points and its class concentration is the prevailing culture in order to build a generation which believes in class discrepancies. It is the policy that defines the quality of teaching and urges the plurality of private schools ; the policy that corroborates the society of lords and planned teaching. It also separates schools and distributes them in quantity and quality according to the poor and rich quarters.

* The communist concept of teaching which is primarily linked to the existence of the political power in the hands of the working class, aims at creating a generation that believes in the conception of the working class and the development of a new class that may rise — and such is the goal — to the dictatorship of the proletariat — In this kind of philosophy the working class culture is the dominating culture in society. Teaching here aims at creating a new kind of class structure characterised by a particular culture.

* The conservative concept of teaching which is basically linked to the holding of political power by the government (the state). Teaching — under this pattern of political trend — is marked by the orthodox character which calls for social stability and fears change and reform. Such a conviction confirms the capitalist in order to serve its interests and extend its life.

* The liberal concept of teaching which is strongly interwined with the existence of political power in the hands of the government (the state).

This concept stems from the independent evolution that seeps away dependence from the capitalist world and achieves progress through economic independence and social progress. Teaching,

under this political conception — though anti-imperialist — is still dependent on imperialism for it urges the laying of the foundation of the Western democracy in teaching and as such represses the individuals' freedom of creating learning and free choice.

In spite of the various political forms of the means of government, the imposed kinds of teaching existing nowadays in the world revealed unfruitful so far. Man is still living in slavery deprived of will and freedom as Colonel Qathafi said :

"The world has certainly taken differents forms and successive pictures but has not changed yet. It is like the patient who may sleep on his right side. But the problem is not "how the patient sleeps" as much as to find a solution by identifying the disease and root it up. The problems that man faces are still unsolved" (10).

The different intellectual schools and their numerous trends led to different viewpoints of teaching even though the dominating concept in all the different contents of the methods however old or new is the educational programmes imposed by a supreme power in which the pupils themselves have no hand. Beauchamp had noted that when he said :

"The most frequent items in the content of the method are the headlines of the educational programmes to be learned, and that the educational programmes are the heart of the method regardless of how to teach it" (11) Johnson, in turn, sustained that the method is a purpose in itself and the results are the most important. Thus he calls to give great interest to the final results, not to the event itself, and that we should take account of the predictions and the results to be achieved. "The method should not be concerned with what pupils would do, but with what they would learn as an inevitable result of what they do (12).

Although progressive schools had placed great interest in the learning and teaching process, and the dependence upon the educating talent (as well as children's wants that William James and John Deway called for by the end of the 19th century) ; and in spite of the appeal to organise the educational process and regulate it by Ralf Talor, the need remained to define the educational aim and establish the content of the method, and draw up the way and the strategy to organise this teaching knowledge and evaluate it. Finally was the call

to assure the achievement of these educational goals (13). In spite of all this interest, the opportunity has not really been offered to create the free inventive man because those intellectual schools as Bramled mentioned are imperfect since they give more importance to the means on the expense of the aims (14) :

"It proves the empirical character and the opened-mind that takes into consideration all the items of the matter but fails to determine our fate and destiny. It helped us to learn how to think but gave us nothing to discover what we should think about."

If there were the features of the general crisis of the teaching systems prevailing in the world, the domestic situation (the situation in Libya) is not much different. The imported static teaching models led to a compulsory imposed teaching resulting in the destruction of the freedom of choice, and failure in meeting the needs of our society of the necessary technical frame work. Dr. Shuaïb Mansuri noted in his study of the final results of the 1973 census, that the rate of illeteracy among boys over ten years of age, amounts to 31 % of the total male inhabitants of the same category whereas it reaches 73 % among girls with respect to the total women inhabitants of the same category of age.

He also noted that the rate of those who are not enrolled in the compulsory teaching amounted to 21 % of the total population who are under the compulsory years (6-13 years). If we look furtherdown to the primary school phase only, we find that the proportion of those who don't frequent the primary school amounts to 22 % of the total children who are under the age of primary school. The dilemma would be more proving and more crucial if we look at the teaching level of the manpower elements in that the proportion of the economically active population all-over the Jamahiriya didn't exceed 20 % of the total population. Moreover. the rate of the illetracy among them (i.e. among the economically active population) is around 46 %. The rate of those who hold the primary certificate didn't exceed 9 % (15).

All these features and the urgent crisis of the world teaching systems show that it is a good time to launch a cultural revolution which shakes the whole world and aims at a real cultural change in the structure of teaching and its content in order to create a free man. If many scholars, and those who make the effort to cope with the crisis,

such as Hard Douglas, are looking forward to having a new era in which people enjoy happiness and welfare and set themselves free from fear and slavery (16). We should tell them that it is the right moment and that the human drama has delivered a popular revolution which puts an end to the traditional society in order to build a jamahiryan society from its ashes.

The Third Universal Theory also draws the picture of the society in which political power is basically in the hands of the popular masses through the popular congresses and committees in which all citizens share the power and the riches and hold arms. Besides, if we find ourselves today, in front of a world situation that urges us to wonder about the seriousness and depth of what kind of education and what kind of people we would like to be, the answer to this big question doesn't come haphazardly and cannot be effected by feelings. The answer to it can only come out of a single source, that of sacrifice research that analysis the reality and defines the problems and finds out solutions. Thus the Third Universal Theory came up to answer this question. What is then the new conception of teaching according to the precepts and thesis of *The Green Book*.

THE TEACHING CONCEPT IN *THE GREEN BOOK*.

The preceding paragraph made it very clear that the goal of the teaching that prevails all-over the world nowadays, when allowance is made for the specific and limited character of the aim (according to the means of government dominating in society), hence the branched teaching policy, the goal then represents one of the following trends :

1 - The first trend, sustains that teaching has a fundamental function, consisting in the transfer of the human heritage and the conservation of the social conditions, without examining the actual problems or values in conflict. This trend imposes the adults' standards, and their study material and the appropiate means for them on those who walk slowly towards maturity and haven't reached it yet. And if the gap were too wide between the two concerning the required study material and the followed teaching methods and the imposed behaviour rules : that it is inadequate to the true capacities of these

petty learners, it is then a forced imposition against their will. Thus the trend aims at :

1 - Assuring a lifelong society and acquiring social homogeneity.

2 - Inactivity towards the problems the society suffers from, especially the political and moral ones.

The second trend which thinks that teaching should broach the problems of society so that its method would reflect all the cultural elements — the social, the economic and the political ones — with the obligation of being impartial towards them, especially when delating with problems concerning the means of government and the value. In this, it actually has a purpose :

1 - Just to expose the problem without dealing with its solutions.

2 - To consider school as a mere mirror that reflects the social conditions with no positive role in development. — The third trend, in turn, wants school to play a positive role to solve the problems prevailing in society in the light of the political tendencies of the means of government. This form of teaching aims at :

1 - Believing in the leading role of school in the process of social change.

2 - Seeking to change the principal values on which the society is based.

After this brief exposition on the teaching concept, we might see the need to clarify some concepts about teaching as they were used in the Third Universal *The Green Book* :

If we examine Muammar Qathafi's thoughts we will clearly note his full determination to refuse all the systems that stand as an obstacle between man and his freedom.

This thought is based upon the abolition of all unfair relations that deprive people from practising their choices including knowledge which is as Colonel Qathafi says : "a natural right of every man and none is allowed to deprive him of it under any pretext except when a man himself commits that which deprives him of the right" (17). Therefore we find the Third Universal Theory, judging all the countries that define the teaching process according to official methods that serve their political interests and force people to learn them and define also officially the school programmes (the subjects and knowledge to be learned) are countries that practice injustice against their people (18).

The Third Universal Theory is also based upon the respect of man's freedom and his intellectual orientations and condemns all the forms of intellectual taming and the imposition of cultural models that are suitable to the mental capacities of man, and his innate aptitudes.

Forced stultification will certainly come to an end as is confirmed by *The Green Book* when it presents everything as it is and when everyone is offered the chance to learn in the suitable form to him (19). Muammar Qathafi's thought is characterised by his respect for man and his values. Thus he sets great emphasis in the third volume of *The Green Book* on the fact that compulsory teaching of which all countries are proud whenever they succeed in imposing it on smaller countries is the last repressive style to kill freedom. It 's a forced obliteration of man's abilities and a forced orientation of his choices. It 's a dictatorial act killing freedom since it prevents man from free choice and creation (20). From this we see that the great concern of this Third Universal Theory is only to help and direct man whenever he is so that he himself finds the particular and adequate solutions to all the obstacles that force him or stand in his way.

It is then an integrative total theory clearly reflected in the surety and determination to adopt the human educational movement and make it suitable to man 's present and future conditions, as well as those of the society, without creating a rupture with the past.

It is therefore the life that finds itself (as says Kilpatrick) in the light of the past without being its slave. It 's the life that would utilise both the past and the present to look at the future, but it is the life that lives in the very present that takes advantage of the experience of the past and embraces the future as well (21).

This could happen — according to the Third Universal Theory only through a revolution against the teaching and political conditions and by launching the cultural revolution, the best way to undermine the aspects of power and its hidden slogan : (you must ignore what you are not allowed to learn). If the author of *The Green Book* — through this analysis and experience of the human drama and its sorrows during the centuries — succeeded in coming up with a clear conclusion of this drama and imagine a more prosperous future to humanity, the best means to achieve all that, in his opinion, is the cultural revolution that seeks to create the free, inventive and

conscious peoples who hold power, riches and arms because these people live through the drama and are the sole owners of the wealth. They are finally the ultimate goal and the first and the last guarantor of the revolution.

The essence of the cultural revolution to which the Third Universal Theory calls through *The Green Book* to rectify the concept of teaching is its call to : — destroy the teaching scale and its inherited models so that man feels himself free to choose what he wants to learn, when he is able to do that and holds the job in which he feels himself able to be inventive. At this point, everyone will then create and their efforts will be fruitful. Production will then be achieved because the problem is fundamentally solved ; it is solved by the method adopted and the knowledge to be learned (22).

Thus with a view to the concept of teaching as it appeared in the Third Volume of *The Green Book* and as it was mentioned in Colonel Qathafi's speeches, meetings and conferences in many occasions, through debates, scrutinising and analysis and also through investigation of different educational studies and the numerous researches undertaken in this aspect as well as through their new thesis towards a revolutionary popular (Jamahiriya) teaching ; through all these factors we find that teaching which is not the organised method and classified subjects that children are forced to learn during limited hours at ordered desks and in printed books. Within this large concept, teaching is given, in the light of essential bases which lie in the following general characteristics (that can be defined under this concept of teaching, in their theoretical problems regardless of the controversies arisen about their application).

1 - THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT OF ACCESS TO TEACHING AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE

The Third Universal Theory stresses that knowledge is one man's rights. None may rob him of it. The principle of the right of access to teaching as much as one wants should be guaranteed to everyone by providing all kinds of teaching and giving people absolute freedom to choose — each according to his capacities, inclinations and attitudes

— Thus Third Universal Theory announced vigorously in *The Green Book* the emphasis upon the principle that reads :

"Knowledge is a natural right for everyone. None is allowed to deprive him of it under whatever pretext except when man himself commits something that prevents him of it".

There should be enough teaching centres for all kinds of knowledge. The fact of limiting access to knowledge is a limitation of man's freedom to force him to learn a specific knowledge — the knowledge that is available — and deprives him of a natural right as a result of the lack of the other kinds of knowledge. Societies where knowledge is forbidden and monopolised are fanatical and reactionary. These societies are the enemies of freedom (23).

In another occasion Qathafi insistes that the kind of teaching existing now in the world is a compulsory one and the method that is world-wide is a method made by the means of government dominating people everywhere — The solution is to give man his freedom to learn what he wants and in the manner that he deems adequate to him. "Freedom should win and man should be allowed to learn the truth as it is and in the way he deems suitable (24)".

2 - THE CHANGE OF THE TEACHING AIM

The main characteristic of teaching that prevails now in most countries is its inactivity. This kind of teaching doesn't give the teacher and the pupil the opportunity for real interaction. It is primarily based upon the textbook, relying on the accumulation of theoretical knowledge and presented by the teacher in an authoritive manner which often rejects any objection or argument.

In most countries, the aim of teaching is to stuff the pupil's mind with knowledge and information rather than scientific way of thinking and research, logical succession of ideas and perfect comprehension. Here we can clearly note — as Dr Ahmad Sidaoui said — the prevailing ideology from childhood, and how they valve the intellectual incapacity, in order to prevent them from disclosing the true intentions of the government in all its daily practices (25). The Third Universal Theory says that it is already time for the popular masses (Jamahir) to

hold the reigns of power in the world and set up the teaching policy so that man acceeds to real knowledge by directing him to the sound teaching specialisation. The aim of teaching has become the eminent goal that achieves full integration between man, labor and production and intermixing with the various aspects of life.

In short, teaching, labor and production, in addition to the other matters, become real inventive empirical activities that go beyond the problem of assuring the decent materialistic life and lead man to new human ranks consisting in the people-led (jamahiriya) society in which the means of government would die — out —

3 - AMPLITUDE, COMPREHENSIVENESS AND CONTINUITY

The world teaching systems have historically failed to achieve the ideal according to which teaching widely allows all people access to knowledge and that on the same footing of equality. Furthermore, teaching discrepancies are growing larger either among the very people of a country inter-states.

Teaching extension in the advanced countries has achieved a tiny amount of social equality in the teaching sector. Thus the relative progression of the poorer class children for High Shool study in France was accompanied by greater access of the rich class children some of whom are about to get to saturation point, in learning.

The increase in the number of the law class children at the university was particulary confined to the "faculté des lettres et sciences humaines" (College of Arts and Human Science) this opened the way for the upper class children (almost all of them) to turn more and more to important specialities such as medicine, pharmacology and engeneering.

While only 32 % of the agricultural workers' children and 40 % of the workers' children acceeded to the first year of secondary school in France in 1963, 90 % of the children who — se parents hold a liberal professional acceeded to the same year and 93 % of the high cadres' children. In 1965, 2,4 % of the agricultural workers' children and 3,4 % of the workers' had access to the university as compared to 58,7 % of the high levels and the holders of liberal professions' children. This

doesn't mean that the socialist countries are aware of any effect of social discrepancies in teaching, since they also failed to achieve the ideal of amplitude, comprehensiveness and continuity of teaching.

In Hungary, according to the 1963 official statistics, 61 % of the educated class children obtained excellent results while only 22 % of the working class children obtained the same results.

The proportion of the working class children ranged in 1965 from 33 % in Hungaria, 36,6 % in Rumania to 39,2 % in Czekoslovakia of the total number of university students. Thus the Third Universal Theory says that a teaching reform can take place only through a cultural revolution which puts down these traditional teaching systems, and announces teaching to be a continuing process that will last for ever and as long as there is life and development, change and removal, and as long as progress advances towards the age of the masses and a discovery of the abilities of the free, creative man.

So it is inevitable to undertake a continous modernisation and revolution of the educational process. It is also inevitable to look over the existing goals and methods as well as the means and ways. Qathafi says in this respect : "This means society should provide all kinds of knowledge and give people full freedom to choose spontaneously their favourable, special future. This requires sufficient teaching institutions which provide all forms of knowledge (27)".

4 - RELATIVE BALANCE BETWEEN THE TEACHING CENTERS

One characteristic of the teaching concept in the Third Universal Theory is to establish a balance among the different literary and scientific branches of learning in addition the applied knowledge in order to make it as close as possible to production in the different fields.

This balanced interest given by *The Green Book* to the various aspects of activity to create the free heretic man means the new Jamahiriya man who has numerous aspects of evolution, of development and integration. He is then a free man, a unique and efficient organ in the group. He inspires his freedom from the disappearance of exploitation and the absence of narrow individual interests and desire

from his social and productive relationships. He enjoys all this since he is the holder of power and the owner of his wealth and arms.

Among the eminent characteristics of the new Jamahiriy teaching are dynamism and susceptibility to change and evolution. It is a flexible teaching which adjusts the technical and scientific progress and shapes the individual and common needs. It also takes into account the principe of individual differences and man's abilities and aptitudes. Thus Qathafi touches upon the principle in one of his speeches when he said : "when the teaching scale and its inherited forms will be destroyed, when man feels that he is free by choosing the kind of learning he wants — when able to do that —. When he holds the job he wants and feels he can be creative... every man will then create (28)".

The Green Book states that :

"Ignorance will be defeated when everything is presented as it is, without deformation, when it is available for everyone to learn and in the way that is adequate to him".

We should also maintain — even very briefly — the Jamahiriy teaching goal as it is presented by the World's Third Theory. The goals of this new teaching are the following :

1 - to adopt permanent education by :

a) emphasising the concept of continuous education and applying it to the different social categories and levels.

b) diversification of the educational styles and institutions and concentrating upon the means of training undertaken at the production centres.

c) to give particular interest to the pre-school and post-school education. (Education and re-education).

d) providing the knowledge that is susceptible to be modernised and extended in the future to represent a part of the long-lasting teaching.

2 - Increasing the foreign sufficiency of teaching by :

a) Strong links between teaching and the needs of the labor market.

b) Strong links between teaching and the needs of comprehensive growth.

c) Reorganising the teaching periods and forms and develop the teaching content.

d) Adopting the scientific revolution and the teaching techniques.

3 - Taking the social orientation in order to achieve the following goals :

a) To give teaching a social orientation so that it aquires its features and bases from the real goals of society not to attain the government's goals or the means of government.

b) To freeze the discrepancies that exist among the social classes.

c) To respect man's personality and reinforce the individual's value, his importance and his freedom.

d) To encourage man's spirit of creation and familiarise him to take positive attitudes towards the others.

e) To keep enough independence of man's personal constituents.

4 - To generalise knowledge and integrity in order to :

a) Provide the necessary knowledge for everyone who wants to learn and in the way he deems suitable to his ambitions and abilities.

b) Provide interrogative and multidimensional teaching so that it includes all aspects of the human knowledge.

c) Provide comprehensive teaching without discrimination of race, birth place or religion.

d) Provide the kind of teaching that gives the learner the way of free thinking.

5 - Achieving unity and distinctive teaching by :

a) Achieving the educational aims through distinctive means.

b) Achieving the aspirations and wants of every learner according to this personal abilities and aptitudes.

c) Achieving the continuity and openness of teaching through all the phases by the open-ends.

d) Flat denial of the separation between general teaching and professional teaching in order to merge them finally into one teaching.

6 - Adopting professional teaching and concentration upon the manual work.

7 - Insisting upon the value of educational guidance and orientation.

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The Problem of Monopoly in Experience and Knowledge.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of history, Man has suffered injustice from his fellow Man ; as Tobaz stated "Man is a wolf to his fellow Man" where rulers have always monopolised authority and deprived others.

The feudalist monopolised wealth to himself and deprived others ; the strong monopolised the weapons and deprived others.

As life became complicated, a class, a party, a sect or a tribe monopolised authority, wealth and weapons and deprived other classes, parties, sects or tribes to the extent that an elite not only inherited the authority, wealth or weapons, but monopolised it.

"The class, like the party, sect and tribe, is a group of people from the society, who share common interests. Common interests arise from the existence of a group of people bound together by blood — relationship, beliefs, culture, locality or standard of living. Also class, party, sect and tribe emerge from similar factors leading to similar results, i.e. they emerge because blood-relationship, beliefs, standards of living, culture and locality create a common outlook to achieve a common end. Thus emerges the social structure in the form of class, party, tribe or sect that eventually becomes a political conception, directed towards realising the outlook and ends of that group. In all cases, the people are neither the class, the party, the tribe nor the sect ; they are no more than a minority. If a class, party, tribe or sect dominates a society, the whole system becomes a dictatorship" (1).

As authority, wealth and the manufacturing and use of weapons are based on science, knowledge and experience, a class emerges to monopolise experience and knowledge for its own interests regardless of the interests of others.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROBLEM

Today, countries, large or small, have reached a stage of perplexity. This stage is what is known as the contemporary problem : the monopoly of experience and knowledge and their application in most aspects of life. For example, offensive weapons have been monopolised by certain systems of government or countries, while defensive

weapons have been monopolised by other systems or countries. This is apart from monopolies in industries and other fields such as medicine, atom development for peaceful purposes, satellites, space and communication.

The contemporary problem will remain unless someone tries to reveal its unjust relationship, which results in the exploitation of the individual and deprives societies from freedom and happiness.

The contemporary problem will exist until answers are found for the questions which solve the problem, and in this case solutions would be found to ensure the prevalence of human relationships among peoples where they become free and take authority, wealth and weapons in their hands.

— Why must we manipulate experience and knowledge ?
— Because of the individual or the society ?
— Because of the force of aggression that challenges the values of the twentieth Century and kills women and children ?

This force has been forgotten or neglected — that experience and knowledge are human in origin.

If we look at the capitalist and Marxist countries what do we see ? Experience and knowledge have been monopolised and every category of specialists has its own monopoly. Is this a situation leading to freedom and acquiring experience and knowledge ?

MANIPULATING KNOWLEDGE IN A HUMAN CONTEXT

"Education or learning is not necessarily that methodical curriculum and those classified subjects in text books, which young people are forced to learn during specified hours while sitting at rows of desks. This type of education, now prevailing all over the world, works against human freedom. Compulsory education, of which countries of the world boast whenever they are able to force it on their youth, is one of the methods which suppresses freedom" (2).

The social message of learning should be available to human beings regardless of race. Therefore, opportunities should be granted to students to acquire knowledge, irrespective of their specialisation. Emphasis should also be on the method of scientific research and not on memorisation of facts spread in books of history.

It should not be understood that we prefer one branch of knowledge to another ; for example, scientific studies versus social studies. We believe that all human knowledge is coherent and aims at building a modern civilisation in cultural, scientific and human aspects.

There is a vital relationship between science and education on the one hand ; and knowledge and experience on the other. Modern science has left a deep impact where Man has become capable of revealing many secrets of nature and of identifying himself with the environment in which he lives. Technological progress is evident in every walk of life and modern civilisation owes a lot to science.

The scientific method has led to significant change in human thinking, especially in the field of historical and social research where historians and social researchers have become more objective in their interpretation of historical events. They formulate their judgements (which might be right or wrong) taking other points of view into consideration when discussing any subject.

A number of the thinkers of the twentieth century thought that with enormous advance of science, the world would be able to eliminate ignorance, sickness and poverty. As well as this justice would prevail among all nations. But what was the result ?

Many wars broke out, including the two World wars, in which the most destructive weapons were used ; this caused certain thinkers to believe that science had become a tool of destruction.

These two contradictory ideas depend on a wrong supposition which lays the responsibility on science, while, in actual fact, science is merely a tool manipulated by Man. He is responsible for the results achieved. For example, an aeroplane is a result of science but he uses it to bomb cities, kill human beings and destroy plants and animals. So, it is the manipulation of science by Man that makes it a tool for good or bad.

LEARNING AND NEW EDUCATION

Man grows together with the development of knowledge, and science, in the society in which he lives. Therefore, we believe that material progress should have a human aspect that no society or group has the right to monopolise and deprive others of. Technology is

the material aspect of culture which is accumulated, to become a human heritage ; not limited to an individual, class, party, sect or tribe. It is wrong to label or divide certain branches of science after society or countries, such as American chemistry or Russian chemistry. Such ideas ignore the fact that chemistry is all the same. But this is done to justify its monopoly.

The diversity of culture is only in the non-material aspect of culture and has nothing to do with the material aspect. A tractor has the same function whether it is used in Washington, Prague or Tripoli. Therefore, societies or theories that call for the monopoly of the material aspects of culture are prejudiced, ignorant, and attempt only to justify the exploitation of Man, "societies which ban and monopolise knowledge are reactionary societies, based on ignorance and hostile to freedom. Knowledge is the natural right of every human being, of which nobody has the right to deprive him, under any pretext" (3).

We sum up here the factors that help in acquiring knowledge and experience :

1 - The system of education.

2 - A scientific knowledge of the Universe and Man.

3 - Industrialisation.

4 - The emergence of a political democratic awareness to encourage spiritual and social progress.

5 - The existence of an intellectual moral committee.

If we survey the educational systems all over the world we find :

The capitalist system has fixed a price for everything. It exploits students and manipulates them to achieve specific objectives in the interest of the existing system. Through science, knowledge and education, the learners are taught on a class basis. Educational institutions have falsified theories and have considered education as a human investment. Monopoly has emerged to exploit the educational process, where banks and commercial enterprises are supervised by universities and specialised centres.

The enterprises have fixed prices for every specialisation, where they arrange for every individual the class he should belong to as well as the extent he can reach in the administration or the establishment. The cost of learning medicine or engineering is high to the extent that the children of the workers or the poor cannot be qualified in these

fields. Not only this, but obstacles are put in their way by the technocrats, in the form of I. Q. tests, aptitude and tendency tests as well as personality tests.

Thus, education in the capitalist system is not free : you have to pay dearly to acquire knowledge and experience.

As the specialist in such system has paid a price for his education (which is considered as capital), he has in turn to exploit others to gain profits. A lawyer in the U.S.A. for example, owns an office to receive those who need his services because the law of exploitation has forced them to go to this lawyer and pay him for his services. The same applies in the case of doctors, engineers, etc., as each of them has fixed a price for every service he renders. The more urgent the service, the higher the needy person has to pay. So, service has nothing to do with the time and effort the specialist puts in.

Studies came to the conclusion that the cost of repairing or maintaining a car or a fridge, is twenty times the price of the spare part, and providing consultancy to someone who suffers from toothache is the same as the cost of pulling it. Other studies have revealed that what an individual pays for services rendered by specialists is always less than what a social corporation would pay for the treatment of an individual.

We do not have to prove how the experienced, whether individuals or groups, exploit others. We see these days how the so-called investment and consultant companies exploit poor countries through the monopoly of knowledge and experience.

The negative impact of the capitalist system is clear all over the world where everything is subject to supply and demand. A student, nowadays chooses the field of specialisation not to help his society to satisfy its needs, but to guarantee profits for himself through exploiting others. This leads to the increase of the cost of service to the extent that he who renders a public service earns far less than he who has a specialisation. The result is that education has become a tool for the service of technocracy.

As we have seen neither the capitalist nor the Marxist systems of education suit developing countries. It is better not to try to find a compromise between the two systems. What we need is a system based on a humanitarian theory that puts authority, wealth and weapons in the hands of the people.

QUESTIONABLE RELATIONSHIPS

First — We mean by questionable relationships the ones that exist between the technology and the technocrats and capital. This trend promotes the idea that tactics derive from the movement of history. Those who believe in this idea, define technology as an accumulation of knowledge, experience and skills necessary to produce certain product or products and prepare necessary projects for production.

So, technology is considered a way by which man can make use of his knowledge and experience to achieve his happiness and freedom. Feblin, the advocate of this concept, and also his followers, tried to direct the economy by technocrats after getting rid of politicians, whom they believed are incapable of understanding and assimilating the economics of the social system. But this is contrary to Saint Simon who believed more in the democratic methods.

If we look at the history of the twentieth century, we find that the elite monopolises administration. For example, in the U.S.A. the rich are the only ones who can be candidates for election. In some European countries, only members of the upper class, or the rich are the ones who have the authority.

Although scientists promote the idea that technology has made Man happy, and liberated him (as well as enabling him to overpower nature), Man is still being exploited and enslaved.

Second — The second questionable relationship is between capitalist imperialism, and knowledge and experience. This relationship is important because it is one of the reasons for the advance of certain countries and the influence exercised on the economic, social and political systems. Those who advocate this relationship believe it is the main reason for technological and industrial progress. But they ignore, deliberately or undeliberately, that nationalism and the natural social relationships play a basic role in the movement of societies and their progress.

"The social, i.e., national factor is the driving force of human history. The social bond which binds each human group together,

from the family, through the tribe to the nation, is the basis for the movement of history" (5).

Germany, for example, flourished with inventions and innovations under Nazism which believed in nationalism. Also Italy was better off than the rest of Europe during the forties because the drive was nationalism.

But after infiltrating Germany and Italy, the capitalist system divided Germany and turned Italy into an American colony, where American bases are all over the country. Party rivalry is tearing it apart. This is a natural result of the capitalist/imperialism domination on peoples to stop them from achieving progress, freedom and happiness.

America manipulates knowledge and experience under the guise of modernisation. Its main objective is to usurp the wealth of peoples. By doing so, American imperialism will ensure the domination of this or that country, especially those which import the superficial aspects of the advanced countries, and try to compromise with their own culture. This compromise usually leads to the alienation of the individuals within these societies. Social relations would be subjected to the consumer goods imported from the advanced countries, thus hindering development. This is the case in many Third World countries.

The result of monopolising knowledge and experience is the domination of most countries of the world by the American and European capitalist systems and turning the Third World Countries into a market for their products.

Third — The relationship between momentum and continuous support

The world turns right and left trying to find a way to achieve happiness and freedom, but unfortunately nothing happens,

"Wage-earners are a type of slave, however improved their wages may be."

"The wage-worker is like a slave to the master who hires him. He is even a temporary slave, since his slavery lasts as long as he works for wages for an employer, whether the latter is an individual or a state" (6).

The individual, instead of being enslaved by the feudalist, is now being enslaved by the capitalist system, and its laws. The economic and political ties with capitalist system have led to the usurpation and exploitation of the resources of the people. Also in many cases this has led to intervention in the internal affairs of many countries either through armies or the multinationals or any other form of infiltration.

At the individual level, the capitalist system tries to offer opportunities but at the same time upholds the authority in the hands of the elite or a class. Even by creating political representation, power is still being exercised by the privileged class. And because governments do not seek the happiness and freedom of individuals, strikes (the call for improved wages and social conditions) take place in all the capitalist countries. Unemployment has become part of the capitalist system and at the same time the rich keep accumulating wealth.

The monopoly of knowledge and experience has become a danger that threatens countries of the Third World, through the multinational corporations, the neo-imperialists. In addition to this dilemma, the rulers of the Third World do not establish industries that help to achieve progress in their countries, but industries that provide immediate profits for themselves rather than for the interest of their peoples.

Most of the oil producing countries have neither industries nor knowledge and experience, so leading to more exploitation by the capitalist countries and international monopolies.

While the multinationals accumulate billions of dollars every year and capitalist countries throw food in the ocean, millions of human beings die of hunger and malnutrition.

"Whoever possesses your needs, controls or exploits you. He may enslave you despite any legislation outlawing that" (7).

To overcome this obstacle, it is necessary to stop the brain drain of the expertise from the developing countries, to the developed countries, to put an end to monopoly in technology and know-how, to give a chance to developing countries to develop themselves. By doing so, people would be able to deprive the multinationals and the imperialist countries from usurping the natural resources of the developing countries.

USING KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE FOR THE INTEREST OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO MONOPOLY

Human freedom would not be achieved unless man controls authority, wealth and weapons. There must not be a class, a party, a sect or a group of technocrats which manipulates knowledge and experience for its interest. The individual as well as society must benefit from the progress that Man achieved in all fields.

"Knowledge should not be monopolised, because if it is not in the interest of society ; it is considered a treason" (8).

Any obstacles put in the way of development and progress is a criminal action against the individual and society. Those who have the knowledge and experience, whether individuals or countries, and refuse to offer them, are like doctors who refuse to treat a patient because he has not the money to pay him.

"Do those who have the knowledge and experience have the right to keep them for themselves ? Do specialists have the right to become monopolists and exploiters ? Or should knowledge and experience be used in the interest of society ?"

In spite of the obsolete ideas of the capitalist system (which are based on exploitation and monopoly), there are supporters of such a system. But the time has come for the revolutionary and progressive ideas to stand up against such doctrines.

"The exploitation of man by man and the possession by some individuals of more of the general wealth than they need, is an obvious departure from natural law and the beginning of distortion and corruption in the life of the human community. It is the beginning of the emergence of the society of exploitation."

CONCLUSION

Knowledge, then, is the accumulation of facts about the universe, nature, society and Man and the understanding of their relations and inter-relations that exist among them.

Experience is the applicable part of all that, including the adminis-

trative and technical aspects. Therefore, knowledge and experience are considered an integrated whole, where experience leads to new dimensions in the interpretation of phenomena. Innovation is the accumulation of both knowledge and experience for creating better relationships and building a better life.

There is nothing better to finish this paper with, than the following quotation :

"Societies which ban and monopolise knowledge, are reactionary societies based on ignorance and hostile to freedom. Thus societies which prohibit the teaching of religion as it actually is, are reactionary societies, based on ignorance and hostile to freedom. Societies which monopolise religious education are reactionary societies, based on ignorance and hostile to freedom. Equally reactionary and based on ignorance and hostile to freedom, are the societies which distort religions, civilisations and behaviour of others, in the process of teaching those subjects. Societies which consider materialistic knowledge as taboo, are reactionary societies based on ignorance and hostile to freedom. Knowledge is a natural right of every human being of which nobody has the right to deprive him, under any pretext, except in a case where a person himself does something which deprives him of that right" (II).

The Concept of Minorities in the Green Book

Dr. Abdallah Amer Hemmali

Before we deal with the concept of minorities and particularly national minorities, we must first examine the question of nationalism, as well as the concept of national minority, and the solutions proposed by *The Green Book* concerning this issue.

Nationalism is a bond and a social relationship that remains a constant factor in human societies from their origin, until they form a nation. Man was born into a family unit from which he acquires a sense of social norms and values. In turn, the family gives birth to the tribe. Therefore, both the family and the tribe constitute social structures which play an essential role in defining man's behaviour and his sense of belonging.

In addition to the above, social structures influence the political make-up of society, as it gradually evolves into a state. A state is a political structure that goes hand in hand with the social (or national) aspects of society.

This brief idea is a synopsis of the political philosophy of the Third Universal Theory according to which the national (social) factor is the basis of the historical evolution that eventually leads to the formation of a state.

Therefore, the state is not a result of a class struggle. On the contrary, it is the national factor which is instrumental in forming a state.

This philosophy makes quite clear that nationalism as a social concept did not appear in the nineteenth century, with the advent of the industrial revolution, as claimed by certain scholars. Indeed, it is an inherent necessity in all societies as they evolve into states. It is the basis of the evolution of human society.

Therefore, communities can neither exist nor remain free without nationalism, because as long as these entities neglect their social (national) bonds, man's existence will remain threatened.

This theory of the evolution of human societies differs from Marxist philosophy which attributes social evolution to economic factors and the class struggle, asserting that history is just a consequence of this class struggle. The class struggle will enable the working class to control the evolution of history, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This theory neglects the part that the social (national) factor plays in social relationships and the life of a community. We know how important this factor is to peoples who struggle for a national state. More than the economic factors, the social (national) or religious ones are the basic cause for most current conflicts. Both past and recent conflicts illustrate this theory. We only have to look at current political movements, such as the Irish, Palestinian, or Filippino conflicts, to see that they are merely national movements. The social (national) factor is at the root of each of these conflicts.

The forming of a social (national) entity is necessary to a community's continuing existence and freedom : societies divided into minorities have lost their social, economic, and political independence. Consequently, such a situation drives them to eliminate the causes of division and build their own national state. In this matter, *The Green Book* says : "The social factor is at the basis of history. The social bonds that independently link the family, the tribe and the nation as human communities is essential to historical evolution." In addition to that, historical movements are in fact mass movements, that is to say, movements of communities for themselves, for their independence... Therefore, collective movements always identify with independence movements which struggle for the identity of helpless groups oppressed by other groups.

Nowadays, movements for national liberation are in fact social movements as long as one community remains dominated by another. That is to say, the world today is going through one of the ordinary cycles of History : the national struggle for the triumph of nationalism (1).

The concept of nationalism, as was said before, is intrinsic to society ; moreover, it originates from it and follows its rules. Thus, it is a social concept that changes with social formations and peoples' movements to build their own national state and achieve their economic and political independence. Be that as it may, nationalism is the bond that unites peoples of one nation ; that is to say, it is a community spirit that everybody shares within that nation.

Cultural and historical factors, characteristics and specificities have been accumulated to define the national identity of these individuals. So that every nation has its own specific cultural, and national identity

influenced by history, civilisation and struggles. Consequently, nationalism is finally a sense of belonging and a destiny.

A national formation, as exposed in *The Green Book,* results from the evolution of history and social laws. As to the appearance of minorities and the division of the one nation into minorities, and then the birth of a national minority, these are incompatible with the evolution of the social (national) factor and its laws.

Dividing a nation into minorities drives them to struggle for their freedom, unity and identity, and build their social (national) entity. Our leader brother M. Qathafi, has discussed this question in a meeting with students from delegations that took part in the celebration of the seventh of April (the fifth anniversary of the student uprising on April 11th, 1981). On the question of minorities, he said that it was a social problem and that minorities were at the heart of conflicts in the world, and their main cause : "World wars broke out because of minorities, and more wars may break out because of this problem. The national (social) factor is then proven to be, more than any other geographical or economical factor, the prime influence in the world. The solution to this problem is exposed in *The Green Book :* "No one in the world has the right to dominate anyone else under any circumstances, and large communities must not rule smaller ones." Consequently, there is no excuse for any independent nation to exterminate minorities."

Before we discuss the solutions suggested by the Third Universal Theory, for the problem of social minorities within the Jamahiriyan society, where every single individual (whether he belongs to a minority or to the majority) may participate as everybody else in building the society, we should first deal with the question of minorities as treated by Marxist and bourgeois sociologists.

MINORITIES FROM A SOCIOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW :

Many sociologists have mixed up the concept of small groups (minorities) and large ones (majorities). Some scholars said that minorities include all smaller groups, as compared to the majority in terms of number, within the same society. Such a definition of minorities is limited, because in many societies (South Africa for

instance) a minority (in terms of numbers) dominates the majority. Thus, to define a minority, scholars took several factors into consideration such as national, cultural, economic, social and behavioural factors. Thereby, the minority or the majority were defined in relation to these factors. Consequently, there is a cultural, religious, ethnic, economic or linguistic minority... Wherever there is a minority, there is always a majority.

Up to now, the concept of minority or majority has been sociologically defined according to demographic, economic, political, social, or behavioural factors without losing sight of the psychological conditions that contribute to forming a minority. Therefore, a minority is a community that is considered (or considers itself to be in) an inferior position vis-a-vis another community according to natural (age, sex), cultural, economic and political factors, in addition to social and behavioural factors. It is also economically and politically exploited and socially ignored by the majority.

This definition supports the concept of oppressed minorities but does not apply to the concept of dominating minorities, because it is dealing with the general characteristics of minorities. Scholars should consider the question of minorities from the point of view of its social (national) components and try to find adequate solutions to minority problems instead of studying the formal behaviour and physiological aspects of these minorities, and neglecting the essence of a minority and the factors that contribute to its formation. On the contrary, the Third Universal Theory goes beyond psychological, social, economic and political conditions of these minorities and propose a historical substitute (according to the Third Universal Theory) as a solution to these problems. But we will not deal with this question until we get to the section concerning this matter.

No doubt, minorities all over the world are subjected to oppression and conflicts of all kinds which lead them to struggle to merge with their national (social) entity, rather than to put an end to the oppression. This idea becomes evident if we examine the factors mentioned by scientists, that influence the formation of minorities such as :

— emigration and land settlements,
— industrialisation which gave birth to another type of minority, that

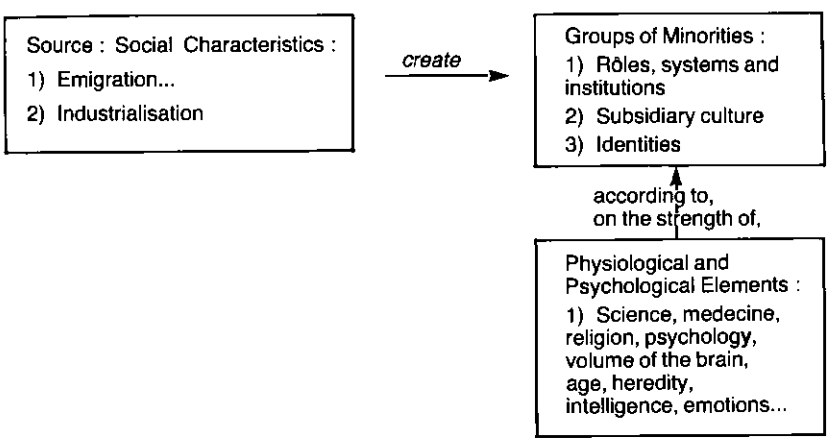
of poor workers who emigrated to industrial societies. We find this type of minority in most Western societies.

Beside these factors, there are some others that we will mention, even if we do not use them, to make the concept of minority clear : physiological factors (intelligence, volume of the brain, blood, etc.), socio-psychological factors (rôle, values, culture, etc.), psychological factors (aggression, emotion, irrationality and immaturity) and sociological factors (industrialisation, degree of civilisation, emigration, land settlements, etc.).

TABLE N° 1
Exposes the general characteristics of a minority's formation.

Physiological Factors	Psychological Factors
1) Age, heredity, physical development, hereditary features **2) Age, volume of the brain** **3) Age, physionomy**	**1) High aggressive behaviour** **2) Low intellectual capacities** **3) Lack of culture and civilised behaviour**

But if we look at the relation between the physiological and the psychological characteristics of minorities, we have the following :


Source : Social Characteristics :
1) Emigration...
2) Industrialisation
create
Groups of Minorities :
1) Rôles, systems and institutions
2) Subsidiary culture
3) Identities
according to,
on the strength of,
Physiological and Psychological Elements :
1) Science, medecine, religion, psychology, volume of the brain, age, heredity, intelligence, emotions...

The minority I want to deal with is the national minority that belongs to a nation that has disappeared, or of which traces of nationalism remain (for example, the Gypsy community). In fact, a national minority is what is left from preceeding historical and cultural interactions. However, the religious question is not the main problem of national minorities.

The problem arises when the social factor is lost. Minorities who have survived the downfall of a nation become integrated into the structure of a new nation and are thus subject to the conditions and realities of this nation.

As to the second category of minorities, that of national minorities (which belong to a nation but are still under the control of another nationalism) (e.g. the Kurds... (2)). To quote *The Green Book :* "What is a minority.. what rights and what duties does it have and how is the problem of minorities solved in the context of the solutions to man's various problems according to the Third Universal Theory ? Minorities are of two kinds... a minority that belongs to a nation and lives within this nation's social context... and a minority without a nation, with no social context but its own. It is this kind of minority that constitutes one of the historical accumulations that finally gives birth to the nation thanks to its sense of belonging and destiny... this minority has its own social rights that must be respected by the majority. The social characteristic is then specific to it and therefore is not subject to be given or taken by the majority.

The solution to its political and economic problems can only be found within the Jamahiriya society in which individuals must have power, wealth and weapons in their hands... to define a minority according to the political and economic aspects is a kind of dictatorship and injustice (3).

In other respects, the philosopher Muammar Qathafi defined the minority as following :

The minorities *The Green Book* deals with are "racial national (social) minorities who belong to another race and another nationalism ; and this nationalism may have disappeared or survived the downfall of its nation and have been integrated into other nations (e.g. Gypsy people). These groups considered as survivors of nations that have now disappeared have no homeland to go back to. In fact, the

existence of these groups is a consequence of past human interaction and do not belong to the nations they have been integrated into. Gypsies do not belong to any nation. They are Gypsies. It is a national minority in which you may find Moslem Gypsies but they are just a minority within the Moslem nation : Moslems in a Moslem nation, but still a minority.

The problem is not religous, but national : this is a minority whose nation has disappeared, and which has been integrated into the structure of a new nation. Therefore, it follows this new nation's destiny : "whenever a danger threatens this nation, it also threatens the minority and if the nation prospers, the minority also prospers. In other words, because of this sense of belonging and destiny, the minority becomes politically and economically part of the nation while socially it keeps its own traditions, customs and rites. Therefore, it must be given the right to practice them freely. The Jamahiriya society solves the problem of minorities".

The second type of minority is the one dominated by another nation while the nation it belongs to still exists somewhere else such as the Armenians who can return to their homeland Armenia, or the Kurds to Kurdistan. There is now a Kurdish nation but scattered and integrated into other nations : it is then a dominated nation.

There is only one way for this type of minority to solve its problem : by returning to its mother-nation and homeland. The Kurdish problem will not be solved unless the Kurds all over the world return to Kurdistan and form a Kurdish nation. Beside the fact that exterminating them is a barbarous crime, this will not solve the problem. The Armenian problem will not be solved unless all the Armenian return to Armenia (4).

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES :

After having briefly dealt with the definition of the concept of minorities according to *The Green Book,* we will now deal with the problem of minorities in Western and Eastern societies and examine the solutions suggested to solve these problems, before we expose the root solutions put forward by the Third Universal Theory.

The problem of minorities is the eternal problem of mankind, and human history is a succession of struggles for freedom. The problem of minorities particularly arises in this specific phase of our history because such a problem threatens the security of society. Most societies with integrated minorities have given their minorities some rights, such as the right to learn their own language, or the right to be politically represented... but these solutions, taken as a whole, are neither sufficient nor in accordance with human rights for these minorities, and particularly their right to choose their national (social) destiny and independence.

In Communist societies, for instance, national minorities are related to the mother-country by the political factor rather than by the social (national) factor. This is due to the Marxist theory which considers the economic factor to be more important than the social one. That is why a group of minorities is often integrated into a Communist state with only the political factor as a common denominator. Such a situation cannot last because nationalism, as a historical phenomenon, will inevitably emerge and influence the behaviour of these minorities (as well as their position within the dominating state). These minorities, as long as they remain dominated and deprived of their rights and freedom, will not in the long run submit to this situation. The Third Universal Theory (which insists on the national unity) considers that social stability cannot be achieved without harmony between the social (national) and the economic factors. That is to say, social stability cannot be achieved without the formation of the national state. Consequently, "ignoring the national bond in human communities and building a political system that is incompatible with the social situation, is a temporary enterprise which will collapse under the social reality of these communities or, in other words, the national movement of every nation" (5).

One of the corner-stones of the Third Universal Theory is to consider the concept of nationalism as an expression of a socially objective reality. In other words, nationalism expresses a specific existence that characterises a nation. According to this specific existence, the Third Universal Theory considers that people have the right to establish their own national state and determine their destiny...

After having briefly examined the solutions of the problem of

minorities, we will now deal with the situation of minorities in Western countries.

In Western Europe, the living conditions as well as the political social and religious situation, gave birth to minorities whose individuals emigrated to Western societies, looking for a better life. These minorities differ from those in Eastern Europe because they emigrated to Western societies (especially America) looking for a better economic, political and social life. But these minorities are oppressed and socially ignored (often living isolated in ghettos) and unable to adapt themselves to the social reality. This prevents them from achieving their own identity. Therefore, these minorities are oppressed and exploited. The following statistics make this situation clear :

TABLE N° 2
Shows the different levels of family income in the American society.

Income (U.S. Dollar)	Families		Portoricans
	Whites	Non-Whites	
Less than 2000	8 %	15 %	16 %
2000 – 4000	14 %	29 %	37 %
4000 – 6000	24 %	27 %	27 %
6000 – 8000	21 %	15 %	12 %
8000 – more	23 %	14 %	8 %

Source :

These statistics show the gap between families which belong to minorities and the white families regarding their economic situation. This is also the case for education and housing. They also show that the educational level depends closely on the economic situation (e.g. the Puerto-Ricans). For instance, the average life expectancy is about 7.5 years for the Puerto-Ricans while it is 9.5 for the blacks and 10.5 for the whites. Furthermore, they show that the housing situation is as bad as the educational and economic situation : According to these statistics, 60 % of the Puerto-Rican families live in acceptable houses, but 40 % live in unhealthy and very old dwellings.

This table shows the bad living conditions of the Puerto-Ricans and makes clear the fact that there is an obvious relationship between the educational level, and the economic situation considering that a low level of education implies a low income and consequently a bad economic and housing situation.

According to what was said above, minorities, whether national or not, are oppressed, exploited and politically dependent. Such a situation will lead to social and national struggles as well as social problems which threaten the security and the structure of the society.

The solution of the problem of minorities as suggested by the Third Universal Theory can indeed provide security, progress and a social, economic and political equity.

THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY AND THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES :

Up to now, the problem of minorities has not been fairly solved. Western and Communist countries were not able to find fair solutions to this problem. Many international attempts have been undertaken to solve it, such as the law that defines minorities' rights (the chart concerning the political and civil rights). It states the following : "A state with racial or linguistic minorities cannot deprive the individuals who belong to these minorities of the right to have their own cultural activities and traditions, and speak their own language". The final Act of the Conference of Helsinki, over security and cooperation in Europe (1975) states the following : "The participating countries, where there are national minorities, must respect the rights of the individuals who belong to these minorities, to be equal in the eyes of the law and guarantee the respect of human rights and basic freedom. Their legitimate interests in this field are thus protected".

The universal declaration concerning the rights of peoples (1976) in its article n° 19, asserts" the individual's right to respect of his personality and traditions, as well as his language and cultural patrimony". According to the article n° 21 "these rights can be exercised as long as the legitimate interests of the society as a whole, and the territorial and political integrity of the state are preserved" (6).

The reality of these minorities'life shows that all these attempts, whether they are laws, international declarations, or Western and Communist political attempts, did not really solve the problem of minorities, especially in its political, economic and social aspects.

The Third Universal Theory gives the individual his rights and freedom within the Jamahiriya society ; but the solution suggested by *The Green Book* lies in the philosophy of the Jamahiriya society : "The Jamahiriya society solves the political problem. Nowadays, a minority does not fight for its language or traditions anymore. It rather fights for the political and economic rights it does not have because it is oppressed by the majority.

The Jamahiriya society gives freedom to all its individuals and makes them equal as to power and wealth. In this way, there will not be a problem of minorities because they will all be equal in power and wealth to everybody else within the Jamahiriya society. That is to say, they will take part in people's congresses as everybody else and get profit from their efforts, producing and consuming what they have produced. In such a society, there are neither wages nor hiring nor trading. No one employs anyone else and no one works for anyone else or devotes his energy to him. This would be completely incompatible with the principles of the Jamahiriya society" (7).

Therefore, thanks to the Jamahiriya society which leans on people's direct authority... "No democracy without people's congresses", "Committees everywhere", "Partners not employees", "The house to its occupant" (minority or majority) etc. ; thanks to such eternal slogans as the one of "Armed people", the political and economic aspects of the problem of minorities will be solved. But, in the social respect, minorities must have the right to have their own traditions and rites as well as their own language (8). The political and economic aspects of this problem will then be solved as the Jamahiriya society is established ; otherwise, the minority will politically and economically remain a minority, with no rights at all. As far as the social aspect is concerned, the Jamahiriya society will not allow anyone to prevent the minority from having its own civilisation, culture and language... because that is harmless while an interference in their social life would be harmful.

This is briefly what I wanted to say about a scattered national

minority. As to the national minority that belongs to a nation while its original nation territorialy exists, it has the right to return to its homeland and form within its nation an indepedent national state. In this way, the social (national) reality will be compatible with the political situation.

To conclude, the attempts of Western and communist political systems have ended in failure, because most of the systems today are incapable of giving their minorities their legitimate rights. This problem is obvious, on one hand, in Western countries with their political institutions, especially parliamentary systems and political parties which represent the interests of a particular group, and on the other hand, in Communist states economically and politically controlled by one particular class via the political party. Consequently, this situation makes clear that the system of political parties either in Western or Communist countries is at the heart of the problem : in fact, it is an obstacle between the people and the government (9).

The political philosophy of the Third Universal Theory has eliminated all the instruments of governing as well as the political and economic oppression and freed man from all these instruments of oppression by establishing the Jamahiriya society from which all means of political, economic and social domination and oppression are banished.

The Third Universal Theory has given the people an opportunity to obtain their natural rights by governing themselves and by controlling their own wealth and armement. Thus, minorities will spontaneously take part to the political and economic life.

NOTES

(1) Muammar Al Qathafi The Green Book *The Social Section of the Third Universal Theory. The People's Institute for Publication, Distribution and Information. Tripoli — June 1979, Pages 5-8.*

(2) Muammar Qathafi in a meeting with students from delegations that took part to the celebration of the 7th April — 11/04/1981.

(3) Muammar Qathafi, The Green Book *Part III, the social section of the Third Universal Theory. The People Institut for Publication, Distribution and Information — June 1979 — Pages 6-62.*

(4) Muammar Al Qathafi, the International Colloquium on M. Qathafi's thought The Green Book. *Published by World Center for the Study and Research of the* Green Book, *pages 309-310. The Autonomous University in Madrid, December 1981.*

(5) Muammar Al Qathafi, The Green Book *Part III, social section pages 31-32.*
(6) Edmond Jouve, "the Awakening of Oppressed Minorities in the European Third World" The International Colloquium on Muammar Al Qathafi's Thought The Green Book. *Autonomous University in Madrid. Volume I — December 1981, pages 267-268.*
(7) Muammar Al Qathafi, Pages 311 (already mentioned).
(8) Idem p. 311.
(9) Henry Habib, "The Influence of The Green Book *on the situation of Minorities in the World". The International Colloquium on M. Qathafi's Thought* The Green Book *the Autonomous University in Madrid-December 1981, p. 228.*

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The Concept of Change in the Third Universal Theory

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INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at investigating the concept of change in the Third Universal Theory as well as identifying the factors, laws and forces that have impact on change.

This concept cannot be identified unless we survey the different theories of change, and show how they reflect the process of change. These theories cannot interpret social change without first identifying the subjective and objective forces that influence it. Therefore, the concept of change has to illustrate the effective forces of change, as well as their nature and history ; also, the forces that derive from the historical movement (whether a group, a class or an elite) and attempt to understand their historical and social behaviour.

We cannot tackle change as a historical process (derived from the historical movement) unless we identify that the factors of change are social, national, economic or cultural, etc. In the light of its nature, we can identify the essence of the driving force in society and its interests.

It is no less important to reveal the objective of the social change and its implications on humanity and its future. In this context, we have to wonder about the extent of change in man. Is it necessary to control man and his needs so that he becomes a one-dimensional man ? Or could change enable man to formulate his present and future as well as plan it with the participation of masses ? In this case, they take part to the process of change and make history.

In participating in the process of change, masses are not only capable of making a future, but also have the awareness that enables them to achieve progress and guarantee social peace.

If we deal with the concept of change in this way, we have to concentrate on the general theories and their application, leaving aside the philosophical ones, except if it is necessary. Thus, we will deal with the following points :

1 - The concept of change.
2 - Theories of change.
3 - The concept of change in the Third Universal Theory.
4 - The theory of change in the Third Universal Theory.
5 - Conclusion.

1) THE CONCEPT OF CHANGE

At the beginning, the concept of change took a philosophical nature, but with the emergence of the bourgeois societies, it has become empirical. This concept is characterised by idealistic and non-historical nature. It does not look for change as an accumulated historical process, a result of Man's activity and needs, but as a movement within the system aiming at social balance, or as a movement resulting from the social struggles that do not threaten the system but achieve harmony. This bourgeois thinking attempts to rationalise the social struggle.

Consequently, the contemporary concepts of change are interpreted either as a technical or economic activity and not as a human activity. Instead of looking for the components in the formation of society and its needs, this concept looks for the technical and economic factors, giving the "economic criteria", the quantitative increase of production and consumption, prominence without referring to Man.

The reference to the economic or technical criteria has left nothing for the human aspect, even if the economic or technical factors are based on injustice, destruction or exploitation.

No one can argue that the quantative increase of production leads to change in the social structure. But the argument is how to perform qualitative change in the social and economic structure, in social relations and how to organise the production relationship in society ?

If the quantitative change of production has increased, the enslavement of producers and the control of their needs, then, the qualitative change cannot be achieved except through the ownership of the means of production by the producers, and the control of their needs as partners not wage-workers.

These are indicators that identify the concept of change where theorists distinguish between change within the system and changing the whole system.

The first concept is slow and partial, while the second is total, radical and quick. Theorists also identify the concept according to its trends and guides. These trends could be linear or consecutive etc., while the guides could be economic, social or cultural.

As we have seen, the concept of change has been identified either quantitavely or qualitatively, and also according to time or local dimension. But in all cases, it has no human dimension and no philosophy based in the quantitative and qualitative change of the human existence, leading to the liberation of Man from the domination of others, the control of his needs and enabling him to formulate his future. This is what characterised the concept of change in the Third Universal Theory.

Accordingly, we can distinguish three main concepts of change :

1 - Change, as a philosophical and social concept, derived from the philosophy of progress (especially Positivism and Darwinism) is considered as an internal circle or movement, not aiming at changing the system but at maintaining it.

2 - Change as a material concept is based on the economic factor as the basis for social change, while historical change is just a result of class struggle.

3 - The concept of change in the Third Universal Theory is based on the revolution as the instrument of social change. It aims at establishing new social and cultural structures. The social factor derives from the historical movement and leads to the establishment of a nationalist state in which the freedom of Man is in harmony with natural laws and where freedom is equivalent to sovereignty.

2) THEORIES OF CHANGE

The concept of change cannot be interpreted except in the context of the theories of social change. Although most of these theories have tackled this concept in one way or another, they were unable to interpret the premises of change or understand its philosophy or its historical and human aspects.

If the early theories of social change were characterised by either being philosophical or positivist, where social change was looked at through its function, and not the reasons behind of the social structure, the contemporary bourgeois theories have exceeded that. However, they were influenced by two main factors :

1 - They looked at the industrialisation aspect, and its its relation to social structures, and the outcome is in a form of struggle and social mobility, as well as social coherence or social dissociation. This trend reached its peak with the structuralists and the neo-positivists.

2 - They all paid more attention to the criticism of the Marxist theory rather than developing an analytical comprehensive philosophy for change. Therefore, these theories were characterised by becoming ideology rather than a science.

It is acknowledged that industrialisation leads to change in the social structure. But the problem is identifyng the actual factors of change and their nature. It is natural that industrialisation and the accumulation of capital, attract workers and peasants to migrate to cities and industrial centres, which cause demographic and professional movements as well as a change in the productive forces and production and industrial relations.

These are considered consequential changes, but change usually takes place in the productive and social relations, and in the concomitant aspects, such as controlling the needs of others and usurping them of their humanity and freedom.

At any rate, whatever the forms the theories of change might have taken, they have not gone further than the classical theories that look at society as if it were a living organism balanced in its development.

The common denominator in these theories is that they all ignore the social and productive relations as well as the societal laws. In studying change, they do not start from the content of the phenomena but from the form, neither do they look at change through the study of the balance within the social structure.

On the contrary, the Third Universal Theory bases its interpretation of change on the social factor and its implications on the formation of communities. The social nationalistic relations derive from the historical movement and are the prime mover behind Man's behaviour and awareness because they originate from community life and are subject to natural laws.

The revolution aims also at eliminating exploitation and at changing the human existence through organising wealth quantitatively and qualitatively, as well as at satisfying needs at social and economic levels. But at the political level, the masses exercise their authority

directly through their basic popular congresses, without any representation.

Therefore, the philosophy of change is based on the social factor that leads to the establishment of the nationalistic state where sovereignty is equivalent to freedom.

We can sum up the most important theories of change into four trends :

1 - The theory of struggle.

2 - The theory of evolution and social balance.

3 — The theory of the idealistic social patterns.

4 — The Third Universal Theory.

The Marxist theory embodies the theory of struggle, based on the premise of social change, being a dialectical result of history and the contradiction which exists in history, between production relations and productive forces.

When the productive forces reach a certain stage, they clash with the production relations i.e. the private ownership, developing these relations into restrictions, which lead to social revolution. It undermines the old pattern of production and replaces it with a new one with changes in the social structure.

The production relations which followed the primitive communism have been characterised as class systems governed by class struggle. The class situation is related to certain stages in the development of production ; due to the disparity of interests between the owners of the means of production and those who are deprived of such means, the class struggle breaks out. This leads to the class awareness of the proletariat which, as a class, is capable of winning the struggle, of achieving the revolution, of destroying the capitalist system and transforming in into a socialist one.

Therefore, the Marxist Theory is based on the economic development as the basis of change in the social structure.

It depends on the economic factor and ignores the rest of the factors, especially the social nationalistic factor which is becoming more important in the movement of peoples these days.

If the class struggle is the basis of change in Marxism, other theories emphasise the importance of struggle, but not with the Marxist interpretation. Those who adopt that doctrine, such as Dahrendorf

Coser, believe that social struggle does not take the form of contradiction, but of competition. This means that struggle does not lead to revolution but is considered "a productive force".

Those bourgeois claim that economic struggle can be controlled politically to support the capitalist system. Therefore, struggle appears to be "the main source of change in these societies".

If the theory of struggle represents the dynamic dimension of change, then the theory of social balance (or structuralism), influenced by the theory of evolution and positivism, emphasises the "disappearance of class struggle from society", because society is a body with harmonious systems and function : a balanced system.

The structuralists depend in their analysis on the concepts of "structure and function". The first represents stability, while the second represents change. "They mean by function, the biological processes in which individual participates to maintain the organic system."

If nationalism means the achievement of the objectives of the system, then the functional defect hinders their achievement. Function, then, maintains the system but defect destroys it. Function represents the changing dimension. "In other words, structure is the stable function and function is a series of changing structures." This quotation is similar to Auguste Comte's positivism which depends on the concepts of "stability and movement", where the system represents stability. Social relations are changeable, and as the system is the origin of progress, then every change must be in the service of the system, supporting and maintaining the harmony between the system and progress.

All these theories are not concerned mainly with change but with social balance and ignore social laws as well as interpret social changes through the functional relations.

4) THE CONCEPT OF CHANGE IN THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

After the review of the different trends of change, we deal now with social change in the Third Universal Theory starting with its definition, premises and philosophy. Then we throw light on its social, economic

and political dimensions showing the unity of these dimensions and the comprehensiveness of this theory, which makes it applicable to all societies, whatever the time or local variations may be.

We have seen that the various theories of social change have depended on either one factor or multi-factors and in all cases have failed to lead to qualitative change in the interest of society, man, or to put an end to man's enslavement.

Technical progress has not supported the freedom of man, but domination has prevailed under the disguise of technology. Technical rationalism has become "a tool for the control of the producers, and quantitative change in production has not led to change in the structure of human existence".

The Marxist theory has neglected the nationalistic factor, and its emphasis on the role of the party to perform the process of change has led to the restriction of the productive class, and the emergence of a party bureaucracy concerned only with political and party activities.

On the contrary, the Third Universal Theory does not interpret change on the basis of historical materialism or positivism, but considers the nationalistic factor as the approach and subject of its enquiry.

The methodology of interpreting change excludes the economic as well as other factors, (such as cultural interaction, an elite or a party) and concentrates on the social nationalistic factor. But the importance of such a factor does not minimise the role of the other factors as change is an integral process based on the "comprehensive theory of change".

The philosophy of change is derived from the natural of spontaneity human societies where natural socialism and democracy flourish and social relations are evaluated according to natural rules. These rules have created harmony in the social structure and adapted the production and political relations on these premises. Therefore, natural rules are in harmony with Man, his ways and freedom.

Thus social change does not consider class struggle as the main factor for change, but the social nationalistic factor. As this factor has been concomitant to human society since the beginning, it is, therefore, the basis for change and any obstacle in its way towards

progress not only is reflected in the social structure but also in the social relations as well as the economic and political situation.

Nations that are divided into minorities not only loose their nationhood but their economic and political independence and consequently their freedom. The divided nations are incapable of performing any effective change in their societies, their economic terrain being marginal. At the same time their political situation is not in harmony with the social one, i.e. does not express their national aspirations.

The Third Universal Theory shows that change is subject to the nationalistic factor, and that when the social structure is not compatible with the political structure, a revolution takes place to restore its national unity.

Therefore, the philosophy of change aims at establishing a nationalistic society, run by the masses and its establishments are subject to "popular self-management" where all types of exploitation are to be eliminated. This not only achieves national peace, but also human peace as well as providing a historical alternative to the solution of contemporary problems.

The nationalistic factor is the basis for change and the economic and political organisation of the society can be achieved through socialist corporations. These corporations embody the interests of the people and are very important for social change, where the masses own their freedom and build their future away from exploitation or domination.

If the enslavement to wages cannot be an incentive to production, then the principle of participating in the ownership of the means of production creates the human motivations to increase production. At the political level, the exercise of the authority by the people and the conformity of the political organisations to the social situation augments the direction of change.

Here, social struggles disappear and progress is achieved.

The philosophy of change is based on studying a society in which human societies seek to build their social structures and maintain them, otherwise they would always be threatened. In this process human groups behave in a certain way in order to maintain their social being through the social nationalistic relations.

There is a dialectical relation between the social factor and the social being where human societies achieve their freedom through a nationalistic bond. The philosophy of change in the Third Universal Theory interprets the nationalistic bond at three levels : social, economic and political.

Man is part of a group, whether family, tribe or nation and he cannot feel his being except by belonging to a social group. He, then, is committed to its values and customs (where such group imposes its social authority on him). Freedom is more at the tribal level than at the family level and more at the national level than at the tribal level. Therefore, the social factor outgrows these stages of development to reach the national state. Such philosophy does not dissociate itself from the term "nation" where society begins with the nationalistic bonds and ends with the national state.

The economic dimension of change is based on the analysis of human needs. These are the basic elements to change production relations where Man can satisfy his needs and achieve his freedom. All human activities are directed towards the satisfaction of needs. These needs are individual ones as well as social, political, psychological, economic, etc. As the Third Universal Theory has concentrated on man, it provides solutions to man's needs (quantitatively and qualitatively) towards the satisfaction of his needs and the realisation of his freedom.

In the past, production was aimed at the satisfaction of needs : "He who produces is the one who consumes", but when separation took place between the producer and his production, the phenomenon of wage — worker emerged, which led to the change of production relations. The enslavement to wages is a divergence from natural rules. Wages are not an economic phenomenon in as much as they are a social relation between the master and the wage-worker. It is an inhuman situation where man's needs are controlled. Therefore, wages should be abolished to return to natural rules, whereby the economic problems would be solved.

The philosophy of the economic change in the Third Universal Theory has given the concept of need a historical, as well as social dimension (represented by the dialectical relation between freedom and need). If need is versus freedom, then this contradictory relation

means the existence of struggle between the producers and the exploiters. Therefore, we find that the philosophy of economic change is based on the principle of "in need, freedom is latent" and "partners not wage-workers" where the structure and relations of production change, and producers become partners in the ownership of means of production.

As for the philosophy of political change, the authority should be in the hands of the masses because political parties, parliaments or any other elite institutions that do not include the masses, are a kind of oppression. In the socialist society, authority and freedom are in harmony with social relations.

Based on the above mentioned principles, the Third Universal Theory has established a new philosophy of change where we can identify the problems of under development and overcome them. Also, change cannot come about without the nationalistic state because any segmentation of the national factor would destroy the economic, political and social unity of society. Contemporary theories have ignored the dynamic historical dimension of nationalism and therefore have failed to solve the social problems. This makes the Third Universal Theory a historical alternative to the progress of societies.

Education and the Third Universal Theory in The Arab Libyan Popular and Socialist Jamahiriya

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INTRODUCTION

The Third Universal Theory concentrates on the individual and the development of his personality in an atmosphere of freedom. Change does not exist in laws and systems, but in human beings whether individuals or groups. The responsibility of changing relations, systems and institutions lies with individuals, especially those in touch with the resources available for the community and transforming them to the interest of the masses. This confirms the role of education in the development of the human productive force. Education is considered the only means that can develop individual capabilities, and provide him with values and knowledge that enable him to create and innovate.

THEORETICAL ASPECT OF THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM IN EDUCATION IN THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

"Each call to deprive Man from his freedom of education, and the use of his brain, is an action against his natural right to live, and is considered against the Holy Koran, "The law of society". It is considered a call for despotism achieved through mysticism, ignorance and backwardness. It is a call against the logic of life.

For this reason, *The Green Book* proclaimed freedom of education and knowledge to all individuals. It reminded us of the present disgusting situation, where certain communities, especially in the Western countries, not only monopolise science and knowledge but also impede them. *The Green Book* described these communities as reactionary, ignorant and anti-freedom. Science and knowledge are a necessity for the survival of human communities and their march in the right direction. They also enable these communities to exploit their resources completely and, therefore, establish contacts with their Creator, who is the source of everything.

This can be achieved by inhabiting the land bestowed by God, where human dignity is realised. The role of education is to develop moral qualities in Man, through the teaching of basic principles (agreed upon by human society) and of human dignity since childhood, during

which they guide his deeds and develop his self respect. Education conveys human knowledge in different fields ; to develop the intellectual activity in children, to enable them to adapt themselves to different environments, and correlate the past with the future.

CURRENT SITUATION

We have to make use of the current situation in the world, in which the Man perplexed, has reached the cross-roads. Education has been exploited to serve certain objectives. Concentration has been put on the material aspect where individuals are prepared to achieve power and prosperity for certain people, and at the same time enslave and exploit the rest of the peoples. To understand the educational process and its exploitation in this way, is dangerous for humanity from various aspects :

FIRST ASPECT :

In communities where such attitudes have been adopted, we notice the colapse of morals and social relationships ; human beings have become familiar with injustices imposed on others.

SECOND ASPECT :

The exploitation of powerless nations. Man has to become familiar with injustice inflicted on him by others. Under such circumstances, progress and development would be very slow as the efforts of certain people would be directed towards aggression, while the efforts of other people would be directed towards defence.

The elimination of antagonism is a necessity to achieve happiness. This can only be realised by reconstructing the educational structure taking into consideration the moral, cultural and spiritual aspects. The harmony of all these is sufficient enough to provide a sound basis for a secure society.

Man differs from machine, in form and character. One-sided development (the material, for example) would lead to his inevitable decline. As we do not wish to see the continuous decline of humanity, *The Green Book* refers to this problem and the way to solve it on both the individual and social levels. This is considered at the same time an attempt to save humanity. Humanity reaped nothing from the contemporary scientific and technological revolution, except the supremacy and exploitation of one nation by another, while it seemed for the first time in history that Man would over-power nature, would be self-sufficient in food and live peacefully. All these things can only be achieved within a human context.

Looking back at the educational process in history, we find it a necessity. The leader of the September revolution declared in his speech at the Faculty of Arts, Kar-Younes University in May 1973 :

"We must, by Will of God, manufacture machines and progress technically, but from the begining we have to control our steps in the right direction, otherwise our society will become crippled as the Western and Eastern Societies". We have to provide all kinds of education (to each according to his capabilities) and to establish educational institutions as a means to attain the actual freedom to human beings.

EDUCATION AND THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Education in the Arab Libyan Popular and Socialist Jamahiriya underwent several stages which were very closely related to the political, social and economic circumstances prevailing in the Libyan Society (4). Education was based on certain objectives, and not on a sound basis. It lacked an educational theory, where Libya inherited a traditional system ; the traditional education was a complicated burden copied from an Arab country, Egypt. Such a system in Egypt was established under difficult conditions and during a period of foreign domination it served imperialist objectives and provided certain categories of employees to administer the managerial body.

From the beginning, the great September Revolution had to face this fact. Since the attempt to implement the ambitious development plans,

there was a big shortage of specialists, technicians, engineers and experts in various fields, whether in the scientific, intellectual fields or the applied fields for which the society had utmost need.

Facing this critical situation and the revolution's determination to undertake development, it was necessary to depend on expatriate expensive expertise, which had bad repercussions on the development process.

The educational sector had a great part in the development plans where it received the greatest attention. The revolution earmarked enormous funds for education to encourage students to join schools, institutes and universities, as education is free at all levels. Not only this, but grants are paid to students and university halls, and accommodation facilities were built for all students.

These efforts have led to good results quantatively, and the proof lies in statistics showing that the number of students registered in schools increased from 50,000 in 1954 to 473,669 during the school year 1971-1972. During the same year the number of students in the only Libyan university was 7,051 students of both sexes, with the number of females only 739. The number of students in primary, preparatory and secondary schools was doubled as well as in universities. The number of pupils in primary school during the school year 1977-1978 was around 574,230 pupils, 23,56 % being females. During the same period the number of pupils in preparatory schools reached 172,224 pupils, 19 % of them females. During the same period the number of pupils in the secondary schools was 22,642, and the number of females increased in comparison to the previous year. During the academic year 1978-1979, there were only two universities : El-Fateh University in Tripoli and Kar-Younes in Benghazi with 14,929 students. The number of females reached 3,340. The number of students in the technical institutes and teachers' training colleges was 34,473 of both sexes, while the number of students in technical medium and higher schools was 10,338 students of both sexes, 1,072 of them females. The number of students, teachers and class-rooms during the school year 1980-1981 indicate the importance education enjoys in the Jamahiriya, where the number of students reached 1,008,000, with 58,373 teachers and 36,175 classrooms (8).

Efforts concentrated on providing universities with their various faculties to accommodate all branches of science. At the moment, the two universities include 19 faculties, some of which have similar departments with the same subjects, which cause an increase in the need for teaching staff of which there has always been a shortage.

The serious attempts that have been carried out recently to change the educational system and its content, were only attempts to reform it, but did not correspond to the ambitious development plans being undertaken by the great September Revolution. The dependency on foreign labour is a clear evidence. Today, while the masses are trying to apply the thesis of *The Green Book,* imported educational systems prove to be null. There is an urgent need for an educational system which develops a human and positive personality, characterised by revolutionary truth, believing in the era of masses and their right in life, and adhere to *The Green Book.*

As it is evident from the theoretical concept of the freedom of education in the Third Universal Theory, the new educational system seems very simple, and concentrates on the integration of disciplines, which includes required general knowledge as well as political and health awareness. This goes together with technical education and profession coordination. Potentialities are available in the Arab Libyan Popular and Socialist Jamahiriya and serious efforts are being done to reorganise the educational system according to the Third Universal Theory.

THE VARIOUS STAGES OF REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

These stages can be summed up in providing multi-disciplines, specialities, popular management of educational institutions and revolutionising the curricula.

PROVISION OF MULTI-DISCIPLINE

From the statistics mentioned in this paper, it is stated that there has been an increase in the number of students at all levels of education :

primary, preparatory, secondary, university, medium technical, teachers training colleges as well as agricultural institutes. University education includes economics, law, literature, education, medicine, science, agriculture, engineering, dentistry, oil and minerals engineering. The reorganisation of these great centres of such potential and the initiation of the cultural revolution is a necessity dictated by the nature of the society of masses, the society of the Third Universal Theory. We have to state here that committees have been established for this purpose at the Secretariat of Education in the general popular committee, and we shall deal in this paper with some of the concepts of the new educational system.

THE POPULAR ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

According to *The Green Book* "No democracy without popular Congresses", "Committees everywhere", various people's institutions should be run by the people by creating popular committees and upgrading members who have enough scientific and professional experience. Their task is to coordinate and implement the recommendations of the Congresses and professional associations i.e. they are just co-ordinators. But they participate with their ideas and proposals, through their interaction with masses as members of the popular congresses or professional associations.

At the general level, there is the Secretariat of education of the general popular committee, followed by the Secretariat of education of the general popular Committee at the municipality level. The first is considered a general tool and a body for social management, receiving recommendations and resolutions at the basic popular Congresses (after being formulated at the general people's congress). It also transforms the recommendations into laws and supervises the application of the law which organises the activities of the educational institutions. In addition to that, the general Secrétariat supervises the legality of the popular committees' resolutions concerning the educational institutions and their effectiveness.

With the exception of pre-university education, where curricula are prepared by the Secretariat for education, the teaching staff at the universities are completely independent in organising their courses in the frame-work of general education, on the basis of the new concepts stated in *The Green Book.*

THE FOUR MAIN BODIES RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATION

(1) - The teaching staff, who have their own union.
(2) - The Students Congress.
(3) - The popular Committee.
(4) - The Revolutionary Committee.

The popular Committee is composed of the secretaries of the various departments, who are elected with the secretary of the popular committee by the students congress, which includes all students in the educational institutions. The role of the popular committee is to implement and supervise the courses, discipline, examinations, etc.

The Congress has a say in the educational process where the popular committee studies and implements the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the students' congress.

The membership of a revolutionary committee is open to revolutionaries who adopt the concepts and the thesis of *The Green Book.* The revolutionary committee guides the exercise of popular authority, indicates also malpractices and urges their correction.

At the university level, the popular committees, students congresses, revolutionary committees, teaching staff, the administrative staff and the producers compose the university structure under the supervision and coordination of the general popular committee of the university, headed by an elected secretary from the basic committees.

Such organisation is enough for popular management of the educational institutions, but at present (and before the idea becomes clear about the new concepts of the educational structure), we find that these institutions function in a traditional manner, which hinders their revolutionary progress.

This is due to the nature of the people employed in educational institutions. Many of them have not yet assimilated the revolutionary concepts requiring self-denial, continuous giving and the desire for radical change that will accelerate the process of change from a traditional institution to a progressive one, based on the revolutionary concepts of *The Green Book*. At present, those at the top are still tied by traditional ideology which attempts to impose science on the society as if it were a political force outside the system. They depend on cliques, and each clique ensures that one of its members is in a leading post in the educational establishment.

The existence of such people is dangerous to the revolutionary progress.

The Revolution, with its leadership, is aware of this fact and that is why the Leader of the Revolution always conducts dialogues with bodies responsible for education.

REVOLUTIONISATION OF THE CURRICULA

Curricula have been greatly affected by the rapid rate of educational development, to the extent that more attention has been given to quantity, than to quality. The content has lacked the revolutionary basis that makes science tied to production, and tries to find solutions to the problems of the society.

Reconsidering educational structure, and adjusting science and education to serve the above-mentioned objectives through qualified expertise able to carry out ambitious development plans, it was necessary to revolutionise curricula in the light of the Third Universal Theory.

The Leader and the founder of the theory referred to this problem, and emphasised the finding of solutions as soon as possible and he personally discussed it at several meetings with competent authorities in charge of culture and education. Among, these meetings were those with the teachers of Benghazi municipality and secretaries of the popular committees of the Universities of El-Fateh and Kar-Younes, and also with the general popular committee for education.

The attempts to revolutionise curricula were only limited by the elimination of certain subjects or a change in their names without affecting their content.

The vision has become clearer with the assimilation of theses of *The Green Book.*

At the closing meeting of the 7th Peoples' General Congress in 1981, the Leader of the Revolution stated, in drafting the resolutions of the basic popular Congresses in its third session of 1981, that "Nothing can prevent us from learning and becoming successful and have our share in it... no one can prevent us from becoming an educated nation, because education has nothing to do with things we lack in Libya, because learning has nothing to do with oil or water" (9).

These repeated assurances of the Leader of the Revolution, demonstrate the importance of education, and the dire need to understand the revolutionary concept, and implement development plans to fight backwardness and enrich the human personality. As a first step on the way to revolutionisation, the basic popular Congresses decided in the above-mentioned session "to review the actual educational system of the Libyan Arab popular and socialist Jamahiriya, and to update the educational structure of the popular society to accomplish its requirements and ambitions... the replacement of general secondary school by specialised secondary schools and linking them with Universities.

Attention should be given to specialised courses needed for each stage of education to enable students to choose the fields that suit their physical as well as mental capabilities. Emphasis has to be given to the teaching of the Arabic language as it is the basis on which the Arab personality is built. — The integration of the educational body together with the implementation of school military service" (10).

These resolutions would, no doubt, be implemented to direct the course of education in the Libyan Arab popular and socialist Jamahiriya. The concepts of *The Green Book* in respect of education and the thinking of the Leader would help in developing the personality in the new revolutionary society. The specialised secondary schools are considered a positive step towards the correction of the educational courses.

CONCLUSION

The third Universal Theory ensures the freedom of education, which is a natural right of Man and no power can deny him this right, or oblige him to receive education contrary to his wishes, or intellectual capabilities, "unless he has undertaken an action that prevents him from doing so".

Everything has to be clear as the Third Universal Theory has described countries that prevent or monopolise knowledge as reactionary, fanatic or anti-freedom.

The great September Revolution inherited a traditional educational system influenced to a large extent by the philosophy of Lord Cromer and Lord Crousin, philosophers who represented colonialism. "The Orient should not extend its education to that of the European standard but it should be limited to a certain point". That extent is where the oriental finds himself incapable of competing with the westerner.

Thus, the great September revolution had to face these facts, especially when it started its ambitious development plans. There were shortage of technicians, specialists, teachers and experts in various fields. It was necessary to import expensive foreign expertise and at the same time to concentrate on the expansion of education, where the number of schools, students and teachers increased. Concentration was on quantity not quality, as education lacked an ideology.

Many of the various specialisations require organisation on a new ideological basis, which are provided by *The Green Book*. This new educational structure will be built on the basis of the Third Theory, which emphasises the freedom of education and the human aspect of science. Science is not a luxury but it serves Man in a popular society at all levels. In addition to developing human personality, a link should exist between science and practice, whereby research can be carried out.

Early specialisation, the replacement of general secondary schools by specialised schools have become decisions awaiting implementation. Such decisions and their implementation would help to direct education on the right course.

Integrated specialisation is also an important issue, which needs great attention, if we want to replace the traditional framework by a new one and achieve the required scientific revolution.

The popular management of scientific institutions has started, and therefore, we must get rid of cliques that are contradictory to the revolutionary codes of practice.

Finally, all circumstances are favourable for the scientific revolution in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, as many of the existing centres of great potential need only reorganisation.

The Concept of Sport in the Third Universal Theory Public Sport

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THE GENERAL CRISIS AFFECTING TRADITIONAL SPORT : A SOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the best description of the general crisis prevailing in the world of traditional sport, in its most common concept and in its widespread practical applications world-wide, was that given succinctly and honestly, in the UNESCO International Declaration on Sport, by that agency's International Committee on Physical Training and Sport. It said that while sport was facing its demise at an earlier stage, through lack of understanding and awareness, it is now endangered by exploitation and corruption.

It would indeed be difficult to find a better and more accurate description of the present state of international sport. It is in fact corrupt. Sport is on the brink of the abyss, as stated in documents issued by the First General Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sport in the non-aligned States.

These two examples of an in depth analysis and description of the crisis in sport, are evidence of an almost unanimous agreement among leaders and experts in this domain, that sport is in fact going in an opposite direction to what its true course should be, and that it is in the grip of a crisis which now poses a serious threat. There are indications of a deterioration of sport, and it is no difficult task to discover the true nature of the crisis and corruption affecting sport. This corruption expresses itself every day, while demonstrating the dimensions of the crisis at the same time. It is also easy to point out the reasons and causes of this crisis through an exposé of the concept of international sport and of the nature of the system that governs it. This in turn would point the way to a solution, which lies in the need to adopt a new concept of sport, which would restore it to its proper position and to its true course, while finding lasting solutions to the problems and difficulties facing it. This is the concept of sport expressed in the Third Universal Theory, which forms Chapter Three of *The Green Book*.

Professor Klaus H. Herman had this to say on the subject : "The ideas expressed in Chapter Three of *The Green Book*, under the title

"Sport, horsemanship and shows", have a universal value. They are truly vital and applicable at the international level. There was a great need for such ideas to be proposed..."

Political leaders and reform-minded thinkers have long been silent on subjects of such importance as this. Those responsible for the administration of international sports organisations have long hesitated to confront the fearful savagery which is so glaringly obvious in many sports events. Nor have they done anything to halt the sale of children and adolescents, to be trained to the point of torture to make sport a lucrative venture. They have done nothing to confront the monopolies, bartering, exploitation, fanaticism and professionalism which afflict the world of sport.

Finally, Colonel Qathafi appeared with the Third Universal Theory, which did not ignore this vitally important aspect of human life, but rather proposed practical solutions to the problems with which it is troubled.

Professor Herman also said : "Let the words of Qathafi fall on receptive ears, and let them be universally applied".

"Public sport is for all the masses. It is a right of all people for its health and recreational benefits. It is mere stupidity to have benefits to certain individuals and teams who monopolise them, while the masses provide the facilities and pay the expenses for the establishment of public sports."

THE CONCEPT OF TRADITIONAL SPORT

The International Declaration of Sport describes sport as being organised and regulated by certain rules and conditions ; it embodies a self-rivalry or a rivalry with other individuals or with the elements of nature. It is practised by the individual with the aim of achieving the highest standards and of triumphing over others.

A rapid analysis of this concept indicates that the basic top-priority aim of participation in sport is to triumph over others.

The health, educational and moral aspects come only in second place, or may even disappear completely. This leads sports officials in most countries to believe that all means are good, or at least

acceptable, if the aim is to achieve better results (even if this is contradictory to recognised moral values). This, results in a disregard of many worthy principles, and teads to wrongful practices and to flagrant corruption. It also permits the pursuit of inhuman measures, for the sake of a cheap, passing victory. The internationally famous trainer Lombardi puts it this way : "Victory in a sports contest is not everything ; it is above everything else".

Undoubtedly, Lombardi's view is supported by the sports monopolies and by various exploiters of sport, such as advertising agencies which control and guide sports events, even at the highest levels, such as world championships.

There is a great deal of evidence to support this ; perhaps by far the worst example is the recent vile attempt to change a fully developed young man into a disfigured girl, in order to enlist him in an international sports competition requiring great physical endurance, with the aim of achieving victory thereby.

Describing this heinous crime and its tragic outcome, Mady said that it was pitifully sad to see this disfigured creature and to witness his confusion as to his identity. Was he male or female ? He then finished far back among the female competitors, having meanwhile lost his identity for ever.

We should not overlook the mass favouritism and falsification of facts about competitors, especially in education-related events, such as inter-school competitions. Such immoral practices are perpetrated casually by educators themselves, as to them the end justifies any means, the end here being better results, in this concept of sport.

SUBJECTION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

A fact that contributes to evidence in this respect is the practice in many countries of subjecting young children to a harsh and intensive training programme for many years in various specialised sports that are far removed from normal children's games, and which are not suited to their abilities and their natures. Among the sports activities unsuitable in a child's growing phase are weight — lifting and ice — hockey, which are practiced to artificially develop physical capabilities,

without due regard to psychological development or physical maturity. This ultimately leads to the creation of an artificial human caricature ; a situation in which the achievement of victory is crowned by a false aura of respectability, while in reality it is a horrible exploitation of childhood and adolescence.

Professor Herman said that : "So long as international sports officials and promoters of sports gambling events are given the opportunity to sell children, to dominate them, to subject them to training so severe as to approach torture, then to transform them into mercenaries to wage other people's battles, some types of sports become mere commercial ventures that bring huge profits to these promoters."

This is all at the expense of human dignity and must be avoided at all costs, as these children and adolescents actually resemble the victims of forced child labour in 19th century factories, according to Dr. Marie.

This repulsive phenomenon which is forbidden by all the laws and human rights charters exists in a flagrant form, in the shape of sports championships.

PROFESSIONALISM : A LIFE OF SLAVERY

Professionalism is a problem with far-reaching adverse effects on international sport. It came into existence with the increasing growth of commercial monopolies and the struggle for supremacy. It requires total and complete subjection to a strict regimen, in which the life of the individual is restricted to physical training, whereby this training is not complementary to the individual's search for a better life in all respects. A professional has to shun the normal balanced life, and becomes more like a robot.

The life of a professional athlete, in the view of certain psychologists and sociologists, is akin to a life of slavery and exploitation, because all that the professional athlete can do with his particular skill is to sell it to promoters of sporting events and to enterprises that monopolise professional sport. His physical prowess is exploited by such as these ; they make hundreds of millions through their exploitation of professional sport, and throw a few crumbs to the athletes themselves,

in a manner totally devoid of human sentiment. The professional athlete becomes a piece of merchandise, subject to the laws of supply and demand, differing little from the slaves of times past. This enslavement of the professional athlete is contrary to what mankind has been striving for years to achieve ; the abolition of slavery and exploitation in all their forms. But it still exists insidiously in the domain of international sport, in compliance with its traditional concept, as it takes its final steps towards the abyss. Professional athletes, as described in *The Green Book,* are undoubtedly merely a kind of slave, regardless of how well they are paid.

This description must have a profound effect on sports-men themselves, and on the parents of children and adolescents who are conducted to physical training facilities, whence their skills and capabilities will be exploited to line the pockets of others through public performances which are actually of no value, except to their promoters. These sportsmen and parents must make a move to completely eradicate this serious ailment ; they must turn to pure sport and pursue educational sport programmes that follow natural abilities and motivations, far from any exploitation or monopolisation.

COMMERCIALISATION, EXPLOITATION AND MONOPOLISATION

The problem of commercialisation and exploitation is visibly worsening in the field of international sports. There is a prevailing tendency to increase the size of sporting events, to show and waste, all of which are obvious in the Olympic and regional sports events, the cost of which has continued to soar until it has become common-place to spend millions of dollars on a single competitive event.

Commercial exploitation of sports equipment, clothing and accessories has reached astronomical figures, making it one of the largest consumer industries in the world todays, right behind the armaments trade. It was therefore normal that a number of multinational companies should appear on the scene, to shamefully exploit sport and to monopolise its ancillary equipment, using any and all means to make huge profits.

One of the methods adopted by these enterprises is to continuously change the specifications of sports equipment, bring about acceptance of the new specifications by sports organisations, then make their use compulsory in championships (and for the validation of new records). Individuals who wish to practice a particular sport are thereby compelled to use specific equipment monopolised by certain companies. Furthermore, these companies have sought to dominate the lives of certain outstanding sportsmen. They have been cast as stars or even as folk heroes, and their names, skills and bodies have been exploited to promote sales.

The complexity of sports equipment and its very high cost are a formidable barrier in the face of popular organisations, especially in the developing countries, wishing to develop physical education and sports, or to organise international sports meetings.

The declaration of the First Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sport in the non-aligned States made this perfectly clear. It stated that the non-aligned states expressed their concern at the detrimental effects of Olympic and regional sports events (in view of their size and cost) and the waste brought about by the huge investments and prohibitive cost requirements (both economic and technical) that discriminate between the abilities of the poor and the rich countries. Instead of placing a dark mantle over the spirit of sport, created by domination, exploitation and monopolisation, it should be a means of strengthening the bonds of friendship between peoples, and a means of promoting peace throughout the world.

The UNESCO report confirms the magnitude of the problem and its negative effects on physical education and sport, particularly in the developing countries. Paragraph four of that report said that the economic aspect of physical training and sport is serious in that it impedes the spread and pursuit of sport in the developing countries. In one of its recommendations, the report suggests the need for an international agreement on specifications for less expensive sports equipment, which permit the use of local materials for construction of such equipment, thereby making it possible to avoid exploitation by many commercial enterprises.

USE OF STIMULANT DRUGS

A problem that appears to be widespread in international competitive sport is the use of harmful — and illegal — stimulants and preparations to increase stamina. These drugs, while temporarily enhancing an athlete's ability, are injurious to health, and can sometimes be fatal. They artificially mask symptoms of fatigue, and by disrupting the natural warning signals, can sometimes lead to dangerous over-exertion. An athlete who makes use of such drugs runs the risk of exceeding his physical limits and of falling dead during a competition. There have already been many such cases.

Moreover, use of these drugs is an indication that their users have no respect for moral principles and values or for rules and regulations in their quest for false victory.

THE MOVE FROM PARTICIPATION TO VIEWING

One of the most serious aspects of the problem is the increasing withdrawal of the masses from participating in sports to become mere spectators. It is clear, as *The Green Book* says, that "The thousands who crowd stadiums to view, applaud and laugh are those foolish people who have failed to carry out the activity themselves. They live upon the shelves of the sports grounds, practicing lethargy, and applauding those heroes who wrest from them the initiative, dominate the field and control the sport, exploiting the facilities the masses provide". The ratio of participants to spectators has reached I : 19,000 in the developing countries.

The dangerous spread of the spectator disease is all the mere serious in view of the fact that active participation in sport is certainly necessary, to protect one's health, and to counteract the lethargy and lassitude that result from increasing mental activity at the expense of physical activity. It is also essential to ward off (even if only briefly) the ill-effects of the nerve-wracking tumultuous pace of modern life.

As it is only the actual participants, and not the spectators, who derive any health and recreational benefit from sport, the organisation of huge sports festivals and contests and the construction of enormous

grandstands to accomodate hundreds of thousands of spectators are not so much an expression of the success of sport as an indication of an absence of true sport, whereby the masses are deprived of the ability to participate, and sport is restricted to a small and select minority.

> "Originally, the public grandstands were designed to demarcate the masses from the playing fields and grounds, i.e. to prevent the masses from having access to the playing fields".
> (*The Green Book,* Chapter Three).

This quotation from *The Green Book* shows that the masses did not withdraw from the playing fields of their own free will and by their own choice. They were forcibly excluded as a result of an unholy alliance between the sports monopolies and the fools and exploiters in charge of these operations, especially in the developing countries. This unholy alliance was aimed at depriving the people of the benefits of sport, by decorating the spectators' seats, thus ensuring material gain for the promoters.

These are merely some of the aspects of the general crisis affecting sport today ; there are many others (some of which are of a moral or health nature), while others are economic or educational, and still others have a democratic informative character, arising from a misconception of sport, which has spread to most of the countries of the world, in the form of an independent world sports system which directly conflicts with the most simple principles of democracy. It places decisions related to sports in the hands of a select few, and prevents many peoples from practicing their right to develop international sport as befits their requirements and interests. This misconception is promoted by all ways and means, in order to preserve the oppressive character of the system and its widespread monopolies, intact.

CONCLUSIONS

International sport (in its traditional and popular concept) is suffering from chronic ailments, threatening its existence (1), unless positive solutions are found. The solution may lie in the adoption of a totally new concept that would be more objective and correct, and that would induce the responsible authorities to always bear in mind that sport is more than a healthly recreational practice that must be pursued in a spirit of sportsmanship in order to achieve its lofty objectives. It must primarily draw attention to the fact that balanced growth through varied physical activities that can include most of the existing sports activities and other innovative physical and popular activities, in such a way as to be :

— Devoted to the individual as part of the community, and not in the context of bulging muscles and fanatic rivalry ;

— Free of exploitation and commercialisation ;

— Removed from fanaticism and strife, discrimination and hegemony, and the life of professionalism and slavery ;

— A form of sport characterised by simplicity, open to all individuals, to be pursued purely as a hobby, without any limitations of time and place ;

— Of such a nature as to give an opportunity to gifted individuals to develop their abilities and gifts ;

— Guided by the masses (planning, evaluation and practice), in such a way that it gives birth to a new world sport system, characterised by the participation of all countries, through their peoples, large and small, on equal footing, without distinction or discrimination, in accordance with the new concept. This is the concept of "sport for the masses", or public sport, and herein lies the solution.

Yet again, the International Declaration of Sport makes the point, when it states that the time has come to take hold of the reins of our affairs and to guide them in the right direction. There is no time to be lost.

Recommendations
THE SOLUTION

THE CONCEPT OF SPORT IN THE THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

Public Sport

The Third Universal Theory has provided the final solution to democracy, by giving all authority to the masses of the people, who practice it directly through the basic popular congresses which are responsible for planning and decision making, and the people's committees, which implement and execute these decisions. The people, in their entirety, thereby have the right to take decisions and to carry them out, without any deputies or representatives, as there can be no democracy without popular congresses. Representation is falsification, and parliament means the absence of the people.

The Third Universal Theory has also provided the solution to the economic problem, which makes people partners (not wage-workers), partners in revolution, authority and arms, free through the liberation of their material needs from the domination of exploiters, and the liberation of their political will, enabling them to rule themselves by themselves, without domination or despotism.

The Third Universal Theory thus presents a new concept of sport, which embodies final solutions to the crisis of traditional (international) sport and to the serious problems with which it is faced. It makes of the struggle to liberate sport an integral part of the struggle of contemporary man to achieve freedom, happiness and health. Sport for the masses is ultimately one of the major aspects of society in the Jamahiriya ; it is of particular eminence as one of the characteristics of the individual in the era of the masses which are strong in mind, body and ethics.

The Third Universal Theory, which is comprehensive and applicable everywhere at all times, is unique in that it did not neglect sport, but viewed it as a widespread social phenomenon, with ramifications in the

very life of the individual, as a practice and hobby, for relaxation and for better health. Sport occupies an important position, as one of the prominent features of man's social life and of his health, wherever he might be, and at any time. This is particularly true in our present age of technological advances that have done away with the need for physical exertion, which is the basis of fitness and health. Even normal exertions have become limited and routine. Man has gradually lost the flexibility and sensitivity of his muscles. He is an easy prey to various disfigurements, such as flabbiness and obesity, which lead to heart ailments. He suffers from diseases which never affected him in the past, and is exposed to serious ailments which imperil his health, happiness and life. This became particularly true with the failure of traditional sport to attract the broad masses to practice it, and its restriction to a minority who monopolised it for their own benefit, because of its complexity, its prohibitive cost and the difficulty of practicing it, as well as the struggle it involves and the resultant moral, educational, social and economic problems mentioned above.

The concept of sport in the Third Universal Theory is based primarily on the principle of sport for the masses, which is strongly tied to the principle of placing the revolution, authority and arms in the hands of the people. It urges that sport be truly for the masses, practised by all, (young and old alike), youth of both sexes, in the towns, villages and the desert. It should not be restricted under any circumstances to a minority. It must be practiced by the broad base of the masses, in such a way as to totally eliminate professionalism, commercialisation and exploitation, and in a manner that would allow the development of natural talents, as a contribution to the health and happiness of all. As *The Green Book* says : "Sport, as a social activity, must be for the masses, just as power, wealth and arms should be in the hands of the people". That is to say that sport, like authority, is practiced by all the people. No one has the right to practice it on their behalf, as it benefits only those who actually practice it. The spectators do not obtain any benefit, as it is a human need which cannot be dispensed with, nor can anyone ignore its unlimited value in building a positive attitude to life.

In this respect, *The Green Book* says : "Public sport is a public need and the people should not be represented in its practice either physically or democratically. Physically, the representative cannot

transmit to others how his body and morale benefited from sport. Democratically, no individual or team has the right to monopolise sport, power, wealth or arms for themselves."

Sport is like wealth, it should be equally distributed among all the members of society without any discrimination, each receiving his just share in accordance with his effort. This means that all people should have the right to practice sport and to develop their abilities, in such a way that this right is guaranteed within the framework of the educational system, and in other domains of social life, without any obstacles being placed between the individual and his right to practice sport. This would eliminate monopolisation and the democratic problems which afflict traditional sport.

The Green Book says : "It is illogical for the society to allow an individual or a team to monopolise sports while the people as a whole pay the costs of such a monopoly for the benefit of one person or a team".

Sport is like a weapon in the hands of the people. Each citizen has the right to bear arms, and it is a sacred duty to do to preserve the right of the armed, invincible people, who must needs to be a sporting nation, enjoying physical fitness through the pursuit of sports activities.

Therefore, in the Third Universal Theory, sport is of concern to the entire people, who should not leave it to others to practice it on their behalf. To quote *The Green Book* "Public sport is for all the masses. It is a right of all people for its health and recreational benefits. It is mere stupidity to leave its benefits to certain individuals and teams who monopolise them while the masses provide the facilities and pay the expenses for the establishment of public sports."

Brother Muammar Al-Qathafi says in his definition of the concept of sport and of its importance :

"One definition of sport is that it is an end in itself. It must be viewed as a social need, as well as a health need. This means that it forms part of public life, and that it has a psychological effect. All those who disregard sport, lose thereby part of their life, they lose its joy and happiness. The only way to liberate man psychologically is through public sport".

It can be concluded from the above and from other statements in Chapter Three of *The Green Book,* under the title "Sport, Horse-

manship and Shows", that the new concept of sport differs from the traditional one. It defines the nature, aspect and programme of sport, as well as the basis for its evaluation. It finds positive solutions to the crisis of sport and to its chronic problems. This brings us to the following definition :

PUBLIC SPORT

The practice by all the people, regardless of age and sex, of physical and sports activities, in accordance with the situation of each individual, and in accordance with his desires and abilities and capabilities, in an atmosphere of democracy in which joy and happiness prevails, for the sake of the recreational and health benefits to be gained therefrom.

It is thus apparent that the concept of sport in the Third Universal Theory, is radically different from the traditional (international) concept. There is also a clear difference between the concept (2) of "sport for all" (which some governments and voluntary sports organisations are trying to apply and to supervise) and that of public sport, where the people themselves are responsible for the planning and execution of sports activities, and for their evaluation and practice, confirming the fact that popular sports are akin to the principles of popular authority, revolution and arms.

In order to understand the new concept, its dimensions and its nature, we should compare it with the traditional concept of sport (that of sport for the minority), with a brief reference to its effectiveness as a solution to the problems that face traditional sports.

This comparison covers the following aspects :

— Objective	— Form	— Struggle
— Evaluation	— Direction	— Intensity of training
— Regulation	— Equipment	— Spectators
— Professionalism	— Base	— Guidance

1) DIFFERENCE OF OBJECTIVE

In traditional sport, individuals pursue sports activities with the aim of breaking records and achieving higher standards. That is to say that the ultimate aim in this type of sport is to win sports competitions and contests.

Public sport is aimed at the pursuit of sport by the broad popular base, to bring to the masses the recreational and health benefits of sport, as stated in *The Green Book.*

The main objective of public sport is therefore to develop the overall health of the people (physical, mental, social, psychological), which can be safeguarded and improved through the actual practice of sport. This has been proved by hundreds of scientific studies that have established evidence of the existence of a relationship between sport and health.

Public sport also aims at providing innocent recreation, and at reinforcing man's resistance to the fatigue of modern life, as an integral part of his life and of the welfare of the people.

This clear definition of the aims of sport shows that an earnest application of its principles would necessarily eliminate all the problems and difficulties which face traditional sport, which arise from the desire to achieve victory as the one and only objective which is the only important thing, according to Lombardi. This is contrary to the idea of health, education and recreation. The worst problems are those that cast a dark shadow over sport, such as fanaticism, deception, hooliganism, the use of prohibited drugs, the exploitation of children and adolescents, and other such serious and openly practised means to achieve a cheap victory.

2) DIFFERENCES OF FORM

Traditional sport has gone through a number of complex stages of development, as a result of which it was disseminated in most cultures. Its form is now confined to a limited number of sports, such as boxing, wrestling, football, gymnastics and some others.

Public sport takes many forms, in varying degrees of complexity and difficulty. It includes the types of physical activity which can be regularly practised by the individual in his spare time, or as a component of education or work or training programmes wherever they may be, with the aim of enjoyment, not for a remuneration or a wage. This is to say that all types of games and movement which can be performed by man come within the scope of public sport, including existing sports, such as soccer, volley ball, athletics, cycling, and so on, so long as they contribute to good health and recreation. There is no need to be restricted to specific sports, as is the case in traditional sport, and which prevents many people from pursuing sports activities. Public sport is most comprehensive and varied ; it devotes its attention to popular games and sports, as an element in the educational and cultural well-being of the people, and as part of their heritage. People feel a spontaneous need for sport, and pursue it without seeking any explanations for their motives (as indicated in *The Green Book).* There should be a freedom of choice in the practice of sport, any person who wishes to pursue a particular sport or activity should do so according to his ability. This will destroy the huge artificial barriers standing between the masses and the free pursuit of sport, and will bring them down from the grandstands on to the playing fields.

3) DIFFERENCE OF STRUGGLE

The concept of traditional sport embodies the idea of rivalry with the aim of achieving victory, and of portraying both the victor and the vanquished in a manner that leads to violence and hooliganism in various forms, sometimes to the point of destruction, burning and killing.

In the concept of public sport, there is no element of fanatical rivalry. It does not embody the idea of victor and vanquished in such a serious manner, nor does it ever reach the point of killing, burning or destruction as stated in *The Green Book,* more like "... prayer which is practiced collectively in places of workship".

Prayers are performed by devout people, and this comparison gives sport the aspect of something to be performed in an atmosphere

of joy, happiness and mutual respect, governed by proper moral principles and a true spirit of sportsmanship. At the same time, it responds to man's strong need to belong, and encourages sports events as a social and educational element, not as an end in themselves.

4) DIFFERENCE OF DIRECTION

Traditional sport is always vertical, aimed at a minority who has achieved some distinction in their respective sports. It is usually aimed at achieving higher and higher standards and records, and does not therefore include housewives, pre-school children, the old or the handicapped and other categories of society.

Public sport on the other hand, is multidirectional :

— Horizontal :

By broadening the base of participation to the maximum, to include all the people.

— Vertical :

By permitting these with exceptional abilities to develop them fully, and to reach the highest levels permitted by their natural capabilities.

— Non-discriminatory :

It is open to both sexes, with special regard to the housewife.

— Unbiased as regards age :

It includes all age groups, particularly the elderly and children.

— **As regards location :**

It is everywhere : in nurseries, schools, colleges, institutes, establishments, barracks, summer resorts, homes, etc.

The basic aim of the programmes of public sport is that it should be comprehensive and open to the masses, as stated in *The Green Book :* "Sport is of concern to all the people, and should be practiced by them all".

5) DIFFERENCE IN EVOLUATION

The only measure and criterion by which all forms of traditional sports activity are evaluated in various countries are the achievements of their athletes or sports teams in sports competitions, especially in the major contests. That is to say that victory or defeat is the indicator whereby the degree of development of sports in measured.

Public sport rejects victory as the only criterion of a people's achievement in sport, because its basic foundation is that sport should be truly popular and comprehensive. This is why the concept of public sport insists that there must be other ways to measure a people's general standard of sport.

On this basis, we conclude that the proper and accurate criterion for the evaluation of the sport standard of any sector of society, or of society in its entirety is :

a) The number of people who regularly practice a sporting activity,

b) The level of achievement and its progress.

This takes into consideration that public sport is a public need, but that it does not at the same time exclude high standards of achievement.

6) AS REGARDS TRAINING

Training, in the concept of traditional sport, concentrates mainly on physical training that entails great physical exertion. It thereby greatly influences the lifestyle of the individual, in accordance with the nature

of the sports activity in question, to the extent that it touches on all the aspects of his life. It becomes the dominant theme that influences his existence, and usually has a negative influence on his basic everydayduties, particularly with regard to studying or working.

Public sport assists people to guide their lifestyles through a development of their physical and psychological health, without any of the pressures of traditional sport. It does this emphasising the social and health aspects, not merely the physical one or that of particular skills. It is characterized by a simple pursuit of normal physical effort, gradually increasing in difficulty, suited to the abilities and capabilities of all, to satisfy what *The Green Book* describes as the spontaneous need felt by the people for sport, which they practice without seeking any reasons therefore.

This contributes to the eradication of the problems of professionalism, subjection, and exploitation, and helps to popularize sport and encourage new adherents.

7) AS REGARDS REGULATION

Traditional sport is organized on the basis of most complex regulations, with rigid rules that govern the technical aspects of the activities and behaviour of sportsmen, and require total obedience of them.

Public sport does not necessarily have any rigid pre-arranged rules ; it has no regulations or "refereeing", except as popularly agreed upon.

This means that it includes in some of its forms techniques that exist in traditional sport and that are suitable to gifted individuals. However, it transcends them and includes other types of games, sports and meetings, which are governed by regulations dependent on the environment, in accordance with available facilities. This makes it easier for people to participate, and leads ultimately to the elimination of yet another artificial barrier, which impedes the access of the masses to the playing fields.

8) AS REGARDS EQUIPMENT

Traditional sport is practiced in specific locations (sports complexes, gymnasiums, stadiums, pools), and uses equipment manufactured at exorbitant cost it accordance with specifications governed by regulations. Their manufacture and sale are monopolised by certain companies, making it difficult to provide such equipment, particularly to the developing countries which have a trade deficit. This deprives most people of the opportunity to practice the types of sport needing this special equipment.

Public sport can be practiced in any suitable location : in playing fields, halls, swimming pools, in the open, inside houses and so on. As *The Green Book* says : "Sport is either private, like the prayer which man performs alone by himself even inside a closed room, or practiced collectively in open places."

Public sport can be practiced with the assistance of formalised equipment, or using whatever is readily available in the natural environment. In the latter case, the equipment is much more economical ; in fact it assists the national economy, thanks to its positive relation with health and production. This would ultimately lead to objective solutions to most of the problems of traditional sport, especially commercialisation and exploitation, and the spectator sickness which has replaced participation.

9) AS REGARDS SPECTATORS

Traditional sport (the sport of the minority) is characterised by the fact that it takes place in the presence of large crowds of spectators. The number of spectators is usually taken as an indication of the degree of success of a particular event. The size of the grandstand surrounding the field on which a sport of this type is practiced is also considered a measure of the degree of development of that particular sport.

Public sport is based first and foremost on practice, not on viewing only. To quote from *The Green Book :*

"It is unreasonable for crowds to enter places of worship just to view a person or a group of people praying without taking part. It is equally unreasonable for crowds to enter playgrounds and arenas to watch a player or a team without participating themselves".

Sport does not necessarily have to be practiced in the presence of others, as is the case in traditional sport. An individual can practice sport alone, with his family or with others in his home or anywhere, even inside a closed room.

The imposing grandstands, large enough for hundreds of thousands of spectators, are not so much an indication of the success of traditional sport as they are proof of their failure, because it is only those who practice sport who reap its benefits, not the spectators.

Thus, sport in the Third Universal Theory provides a logical solution to the problem of wasteful spending, and to the practice of attracting people to fill the grandstands to exploit them.

As *The Green Book* says : "Originally, the public grandstands were designed to separate the masses from the playing fields and grounds, i.e. to prevent the masses from having access to the playing fields".

This does not at all mean that we should abolish existing grandstands or destroy them as some might be led to believe. We must not, however, use them as a gauge of the progress of sport or consider them essential to the practice of sport.

10) Professionalism

Traditional sport may eventually lead an athlete to turn professional, meaning that he performs his sport in return for a certain remuneration. It becomes his means of livelihood, and from then on he is more like a slave, or as described by Brother Muammar Al-Qathafi "A person who offers himself like any piece of merchandise in the market in return for some money. The object of this exercise of buying and selling is to obtain a cup or to win a match. It results in a degradation of human values, and makes man resemble an animal offered for sale".

Public sport strictly prohibits professionalism. Public sport is practiced purely as a hobby, unrestricted in time and place. Its objectives are totally divorced from the idea of material gain,

regardless of how great or how little it may be. Sport, as described by Brother Al-Qathafi, is an end in itself.

The most serious problem that points to the corruption of traditional sport, that of professionalism, could be totally eliminated in this way.

11) AS REGARDS THE BASE

Traditional sport is based on the club, the sole function of which is to attract limited numbers of prominent athletes. It devotes all its time and funds to this minority, it concentrates on training them with the aim of making a good showing in sports competitions, thereby reinforcing the concept of sport for the minority and further aggravating the problem of monopolisation.

In this respect, *The Green Book* says that : "Sporting clubs are the basic organisational means of traditional sport in the world today. They get hold of all the money and public facilities allocated to sport in every state. These institutions are only social monopolistic instruments, like all dictatorial political instruments which monopolise authority, economic instruments which monopolise wealth, and traditional military instruments which monopolise arms".

Public sport, on the other hand, stems basically from the schools, as it is an integral part of education. This fact ensures the popularity of sport, in accordance with pure educational and health-related principles, devoid of any corruption or deviation. It is open to all the members of the school family : students, teachers and producers, Brother Muammar Al-Qathafi said that "From the schools, where facilities are available, sports programmes flow to the various units of society, the home, the center, the district branch, the factory, the field and the barracks, and so on, in an assuredly successful search for the elimination of the problem of monopolisation ; the monopolisation of the majority by a minority.

12) GUIDANCE

Traditional sport is directed by government agencies or by unofficial bodies which are completely dominated by a tyrannical international sports systems, the infrastructure of which is composed of the International Olympic Committee and its various sports associations. It is governed by oppressive rules, established about one century ago, when the imperialist influence dominated the entire world, in the spirit of the aristocratic bourgeois philosophy that was prevalent at the time. Unfortunately, these rules have not yet been amended.

This system, born of such a philosophy, reinforces the "minority sport" ; exploitation and monopolisation. It discriminates between representatives of various states and uses sport as a commercial tool. It conspires with the great monopolies and the mass media, in order to maintain the status quo, using all possible means to perpetuate "minority sport" at the expense of the majority.

While the main reason for the crisis of traditional sport lies in its mistaken concept, another reason can be perceived in the corrupt international sport system, which is co-ordinated in every respect with the world economic system, which is itself governed by the rules of world imperialism and Zionism.

In public sport, it is the masses in their entirely who are responsible for the planning, execution and evaluation of sport. It is on the same level as authority, the revolution and arms, which are for the masses, through the basic congresses that plan, and the popular sports committees that implement the plans at the district level everywhere.

At the international level, action must be taken to eliminate the injustice so openly perpetrated against the people, and to establish a new world system in which all countries, large and small, can take part as equals, and with an equitable representation of the various continents.

A new system is required under which the International Olympic Committee should be restructured on a democratic basis, terminating its obsolete sanctity, whereby it perpetuates its abtruseness and dictates which of its members of its choice are to represent it in their countries. These members should be representatives of their countries and societies to the International Olympic Committee, which should

have a truly representative general assembly which would monitor its actions. Other radical and comprehensive changes are also needed.

The following table summarises the differences between the two concepts of sport.

Table 1 — Comparison showing the differences between the concept of traditional sport and that of public sport.

Point of comparison	Traditional sport	Public sport
Meaning	The practice of sport by persons of great ability, embodying rivalry with others	The practice by all the people of physical activity and sport, each according to his desire and ability
Objective	Victory over others	Health and recreation
Form	Restricted to well-known sports and games	Takes any form of movement by productive individuals
Evaluation	Results of contests, especially of important competitions and championships	The number of devotees and the standard of sportsmanship
Direction	Vertical, attempts to achieve highest levels.	Horizontal, to include all the people, and vertical to develop the standards of those who are particularly gifted
Struggle	Embodies rivalry	Devoid of struggle, rivalry does not have any great importance in its programmes.
Spectators	Takes place in the presence of others. The number of spectators is taken as an indication of its progress.	Based on actual participation. Does not necessarily have to take place in the presence of others.

Regulation	Is subject to rules and regulations established beforehand.	Does not necessarily have to comply with pre-established regulations, except those recognised by the masses. Its rules may be established in accordance with prevailing circumstances, and participants may themselves regulate it and administer it.
Equipment	Practiced in sports complexes, playing fields, gymnasiums and pools provided with very expensive equipment.	Practiced in any suitable location, using any available or alternate equipment.
Degree of difficulty	Highly difficult and strenuous, and therefore usually restricted to youth.	Graduated : its programmes are suited to all ages.
Sex	Usually restricted to members of the same sex except in certain cases.	May be practiced by both sexes in a family context or among colleagues.
Cost	Very expensive facilities and equipment.	Simple and economical, makes use of resources found in nature.
Effect	Usually molds the life of the individual according to its requirements.	Takes part in shaping the life of the individual in accordance with the requirements of his basic duties at home, at work and in the society.
Professionalism	May lead to professionalism and a life of slavery. Athlete becomes a commodity, bought and sold.	Prohibits professionalism completely, and is practiced purely as a hobby, unrestricted by time or location.
Basis	Resides basically in clubs, whose sole function is to train the cream of athletes.	Has its roots in the schools, as an integral part of education.

Guidance	Locally by government and voluntary agencies ; at the international level by an oppressive and exploitative system governed by the rules of world imperialism and zionism.	Directed by the masses (planning, execution, evaluation, practice).

It is obvious from this comparison that the concept of public sport has many new attributes. It is a facultative physical activity (performed freely by the individual without coercion) ; it is a constructive activity (important to the development of the personality of the individual) ; it is an activity which can be pursued regardless of time or place (without conflict with work, study, or the basic requirements of the individual). It is an activity suitable to the various abilities of the individuals, their desires and their needs, and compatible with them. It is also an easy activity, graded in difficulty, open to all, inexpensive, and free of all deviations and corruption.

It is evident that this type of activity is enjoyable and a source of happiness, which will give it a prominent position in educational systems and in other domains of social life. The need for public sport will increase ; it will continue to spread until it becomes a major cultural aspect. It will be all important in human society, and will be practiced by all as a group activity.

While traditional sport caters for particular cultural aspects or their alternatives, interest in it will decrease gradually with the passage of time, in view of its connection with so many problems and requirements, the dangers it creates, its great burden, and its exorbitant cost.

We all agree with the opinion that sport should at all times be an ideal as expressed in the concept of public sport, which is practised in clean contests, free of all cheap aspects of showmanship, far removed from the influence of commercial interests, based on material gain, monopolisation and exploitation.

It is also obvious that the dangers which confront traditional sport will be non-existent when the development of the concept of public sport bears fruit, and when prominent sportsmen become the product of the broad base of the masses who practise public sport, and not a monopolising minority.

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of sport in the Third Universal Theory establishes new theoretical bases of sport that propose a final solution to all the chronic problems of sport. It is new in every respect, and is the alternative to all the traditional worn-out forms of sport, that doomed structure which must necessarily collapse.

This theory draws upon all past human experience, all of which indicates that the practice of physical training and sport and the pursuit of physical activity contribute to the formation of the human and cultural structure, making it essential that sport be public and for the masses.

— It is a basic element of the process of continuous education, in the context of the comprehensive educational system, and in all other domains of life.

— It does not eliminate those who excel in sport, but also directs its efforts to moving the masses from being spectators to being participants.

— Facilities for the practice of public sport are available everywhere, in all the urban and rural areas, and make use of whatever natural resources may be available.

— The masses alone are responsible for the conduct of public sport.

As the contemporary Canadian sociologist Klaus G. Herman said : "Let the words of Qathafi fall on receptive ears, and let them be universally applied (3) in 1979, the Libyan Arab Socialist Jamahiriya has been conducting an experiment aimed at applying the concept of sport in the Third Universal Theory. The objective is to attain the ideal of a "sporting people", in which there is "an individual for every sport and a sport for every individual". Practical applications of this concept have been very successful, as indicated by the continuous increase in the number of participants in sport throughout the country.

NOTES

(1) International sport had its origins in 776 B.C., when the first olympic games were held. These consisted of a single foot race on the Olympian Plain in Greece, then they gradually developed to include various other games and sports activities, a development which was accompanied by increasing public interest. Eventually, problems appeared, such as professionalism and commercial exploitation, as a result of the hero-worship of the victors. The games were also discriminatory and tended to encourage homo-sexuality. Athletes performed in the nude, in the open and indoors. Foreigners and slaves were not allowed to take part, and women were prohibited from both participation and viewing. In 393 B.C. Theodorius the First halted the games and banned them. They were suspended for 1503 years, until they were revived by the Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937). History is now repeating itself : the Games are now facing far more serious and varied problems, which threaten their extinction, unless radical solutions are found.

(2) The history of sport contains numerous examples of attempts made in various countries at an early stage to bring sport within the reach of all. The first such effort took place in the early 19th century, when the governments of the Scandinavian countries and of Germany tried to adopt a public government programme for certain sports, such as simple gymnastics for all the people. The "Schul" sports movement appeared in Bohemia, and Britain implemented a comprehensive sports movement under the slogan "Physical fitness for all", while Japan raised the slogan "Movement is the basis of life", and China exhorted its people to "sit rather than lie down, stand instead of sit, and prefer walking to riding". In 1931, the Soviet Union launched a sports programme under the slogan "Prepared to work and to defend", while Americans proclaimed that their physical fitness was in danger. In 1966, the Council of Europe discussed the feasibility of implementing comprehensive sports programmes in all its member countries, and in 1972 UNESCO invited its members states to discuss these important problems. A conference was held at ministerial level, and was attended by 100 states. It elected a thirty — member permanent committee, of which the writer is Deputy Chairman. It issued an international charter of physical culture and sports, and established an international aid fund. It is also working effectively to direct sports towards their true course, that is the course of embodied in the principle of the "popularity of sport". It should be noted that most of the above cited attempts were unsuccessful due to their fragmentary nature and to the fact that they did not stem from a comprehensive theory, and because they were initiated by governments or voluntary organizations, and not by the masses themselves.

(3) Since publication of Chapter Three of The Green Book.

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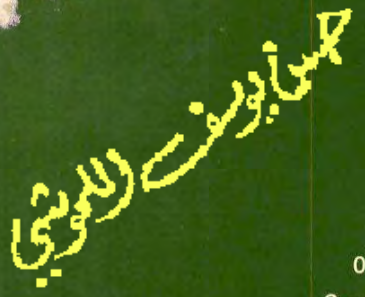
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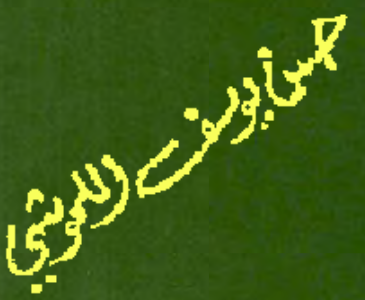
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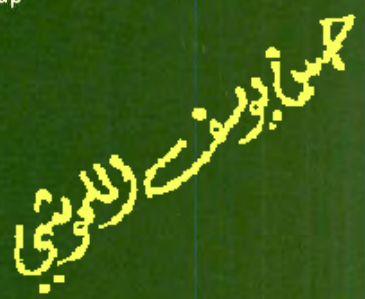
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IMPRIMERIE TARDY QUERCY (S.A.)



Within the framework of the intellectual debate that the International Centre of Researches and Studies of *The Green Book* seeks to held and reinforce among the different intellectual trends and the contemporary political ruling attempts, a scientific colloquium was held at the University of Belgrade about « the political, economic and social bases of the Third Universal Theory and the Yugoslavian experience in the socialist self-management ». This colloquium was an intellectual evaluation — but not from a liberal point of view — of the marxist conception of the State, the class struggle, the party and its concept of socialism and freedom... Through this intellectual debate and the scientific critics raised by the Third Universal Theory against the present political thought whatever it is Marxist or Liberal or under any other cover, the reader will find the new alternative : The thought set up upon the people's power and the State of all





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